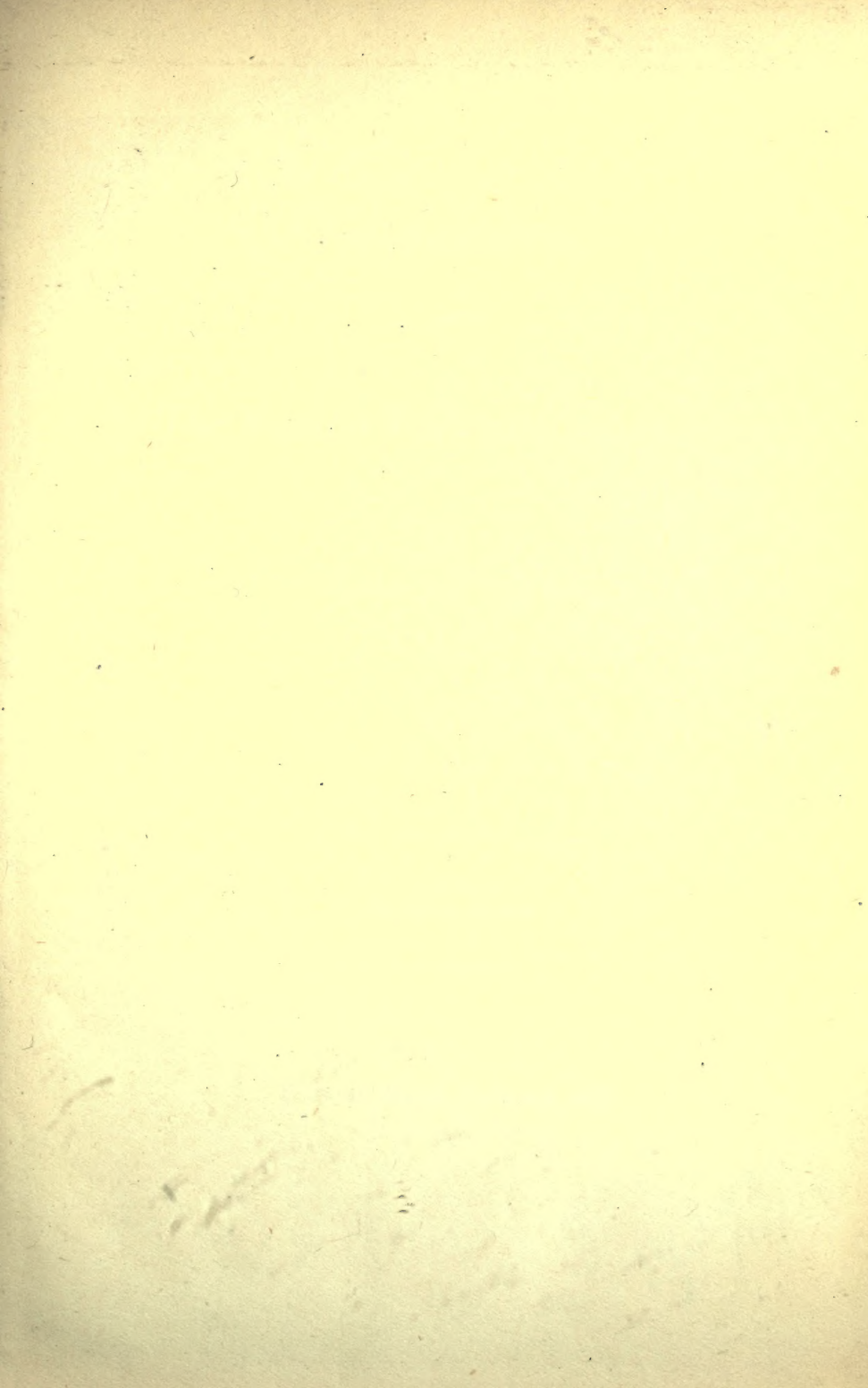


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P R E F A C E

In the Burton Historical Library, Detroit has a possession of very great historical value, unapproachable so far as the history of Detroit and Michigan is concerned, and of great value for the history of the Old Northwest. Containing as it does a large collection of printed material and many rare volumes and pamphlets, its chief value to the student and historian lies in the mass of manuscripts which many years of untiring industry, intelligence and liberal expenditure have co-operated in bringing together.

A few instances will illustrate the character and value of the papers bearing on the early history of Michigan and the Old Northwest.

Solomon Sibley came to Detroit from Ohio in 1796. As lawyer, judge and public official in other capacities, he was an important factor in Detroit and Michigan, socially and politically. His papers, collected and arranged, are of great interest and historical importance, containing many letters from high public personages, letters from Senator Worthington, W. H. Harrison and others, throwing light on the creation of the Territory of Michigan, documents of the estate of James Henry (of which he was administrator) relating to business conditions, and other legal documents.

William Woodbridge came to Michigan from Ohio in 1814. A capable lawyer of large practice, he was Secretary of the Territory, Collector of Customs, Governor of the State, United States Senator, and influential citizen in general. He kept all papers and letters which he received, and made drafts of many of his replies, and together his papers form a large depository of inestimable value in showing the political, social and economical conditions in Michigan from 1817 to 1866.

Many unpublished photostatic copies of letters and documents from the War Department at Washington relating to Michigan, General Huil, the War of 1812, General Harrison and other subjects have recently been added.

With this mine of historical wealth Detroit owes a duty to itself to do something to make known some portion of its richness to historical students. While the Library was owned by Mr. Burton he made it free to all historical investigators and now that it has become a part of the Public Library of Detroit the same policy is pursued, and the project of Mr. Burton to draw the attention of the interested public by printing some of the Library's unused and unknown documents seems highly desirable.

W. L. JENKS,

Member Michigan Historical Commission.

Vol 450 p 88

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON TO EDWARD COLLINS

Dr. Sr.—

I have made a purchase of the Bearer Mr. Lodowick Castle-mans land, at Stoneraby Cont. of 280 acres or thereabouts for £200, and now I hear there is a Mortgage upon it for £70 wh I would desire the favour of you to enquire Strictly into. I hear it is to Robt. Roseboom in Albany—if so you can easily know it. I doubt I cant go down soon wherfore would desire the favour of you to get a good firm Deed drawn for Sd. Land, and send it up to me p first Safe hand. You will see his Writeings, which he has along with him, and he will tell you the Names of the Lotts I have the Mill with all belonging thereto in the Bargain Also whatever Moveables he does not take along with him as you will see by the inclosed kind of a memorandum wh. I had him to sign, and paid him in part 70 pounds. You'l please to send me p bearer the amount of that Sum wh. he was arrested for, together with all the charges thereto belonging that I may settle with him er'e he goes. if you have any News shall be obliged to you for it I wish you would send me the last Acts of Assembly, or at least that relating to the Duty of Showds and Rum wh. was altered last Session. Yr. kind Compliance together with all former favours will vastly oblige
Sr. yr. Unfeigned friend & Humble Servt.

WM. JOHNSON*

My kind respects to Mrs. Collins.
Feby. the 27th 1754-5.

To Edward Collins Esqr.
at Albany.

STEPHEN DANFORD TO ELIPHIELET HARDY

Crown Point July ye 16 1762

onered sir. I take this opertonety to wright to you hopeing these few Loynes will find you all in as good helth as they Leave me at this time Blessed b god for the Same i would

*Sir William Johnson, born in Ireland in 1715, came to America to manage an estate of his uncle, Sir Peter Warren in the valley of the Mohawk, New York, in 1738. In 1746 he was made commissary of New York for Indian affairs and in 1755 superintendent of the Six nations. Upon first coming to America he married a German girl who soon died leaving him a son John, knighted in 1763 and two daughters. His second wife was a daughter of an Indian chief. After her death he married Molly Brant, sister of the famous chief Joseph Brant, Johnson died at Johnstown, N. Y., July 11, 1774.

enform you that Daniel is not hear he is at work at Putmons Point a Cuting timber for the fort i have receved a Leter from him this Day and he is in good helth But did not know that he Could Send a Leter home by this man and i thought it proper to send a line to you and i hop you will not take it a mis i would enform you that all the Bradford men ar in good helth at this time and it is as helthy a time as ever was nown Mr Elliott is in Good helth and Remembers his love to you all

Daniel Mulken* is in good helth and Desires to be Remembered to his mother and all that ask after him Remember my Love to uncel Sameuel Parker and his wife and to Eliplielet hardy and wife and all that ask after me
So no more at Present Bout i remeing

I hope you will send a Leter
by this men to Daniel for I think
much of him

Your humble Servant
STEPHEN DANFORD

Addressed:
to Capt Eliplielet hardy
Liven in Bradford
with Care and Sped

ELIPHELET HARDY TO DANIEL HARDY

Crown Point

Daniel Hardy my Son

these few loines com to you to let you Know how it is with us at hom we are in trouble we have bured two of our Children with the canker Rebeckah and Phines and Ednar is not wel but the rest of us are wel at present and we desire to Bles god for it and we hop these few Lins will find you in good helth we would have you send us word hou you do as ofen as you can we have received two leters from you we have sent three leters to you i desire to be Remembred to all that ask after me and i would in form you that the season of the year hes ben very dry which hath cut short the crops

*Daniel Mulken (Mullicken, Mulliken) was a private in Capt. Nath. Gage's minute men. He fought at the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775 and also at Bunker Hill.

both for man and beast so no more at present but we remain
your tender parents until death daniel Hardy
Bradford Agust the 18 day in the year 1762

ELIPHELET HARDY*

To Daniel Hardy
Att Crown Point
or Putmons Point
under Capt Huchens

JEREMIAH CUMINGS TO SIMEON CUMINGS

Dunstable August 13—1762

To Semeon Cumings:†

My love to you and Richard Whiney and to all inquiring
friends a Round you I would in forme you that we are well
and that it is in general time of helth in this Naborehood
Blessed Be god for it hoping these Lines will find you so I all
so would in forme you that yester Day I was at Brother
Nathanel Cumings to se him and he Remains in a very week
and lo Condisione and not much hope of his Recovery—if
you or any of our Nabours with you should Be in week cor-
comstance a Bout Coming hom are desired to Rite to me or
some of our frinds and we will a ford you some help if pos-
sible—I would in forme you that we Received Some Letters
from you and the Last Dat was in July—ye—19 time is short
and paper is Scarse I rite no more at present—
So I remain your Loving Brother—

JEREMIAH CUMINGS†

STEPHEN NORWOOD TO SIMEON CUMINGS AND LETTER FROM SIMEON

Dunstable the 13 Aug 1762

Simeon, Sr

After my kind Love to you and all Dunstable Boys I took this
oportunity to Write these few Lines to you hoping they
may fine you all in a Good State of Health as I am at this
present Writeing it is a General time of health amongst us
tho it is a Very Dry time here and things are almost Dried

*The Hardy family was a prominent early family at Bradford, Mass.

†Jeremiah and Simeon Cummings, brothers and members of a prominent old
Dunstable family. Simeon became a lieutenant. He died March 23, 1817, aged
73 yrs. and was buried in Central Cemetery, Dunstable, Mass. Jeremiah died Oct.
10, 1773, aged 45 yrs. and was buried in the same cemetery.

up Be Pleased to Remember me to Richard & Jonathan & Woodward Samuel Comings Jonás Butterfield & Peltiah Whittsmore & to all with whom I am aquanted and all that aske after me I should be very Glad to see you all & I pray God to Prosper you all and keep you all & Return you all home Safe.

This is the Wish & desire
of Yor Loving Freind

STEPHEN NORWOOD

Simon Desire of those who have sweethearts here not to forget them But chear them up with Letters Since they cannot have their Company for they Begin to Look very Dull
Paper is scarce no Downt with you So we have sent you half a sheet

Your Friend

Stephen Norwood

To Mr Simeon Cumings In his Maj Sarvis at Crown Point in the Company of Capt Edwards & Coll Ingersol
Regiment These with care & sped

Crown Point 17th October y 1762

Loving Brother and Sister I tak this opertunity to Rit to you hoping the Same Will find you in good helth as throw the goodness of god that left me all Dunstable men is well but Jonathan Bloget and John Rolens that are both Six Both not Dangerous I hop this is the :2: Letter that I hav Sent you and had one from you i would in form You that if I am well I do not expect to be at hum in a-bout a month no more at present But I Reman

Your Loving Brother

SEMEON CUMINGS

paper is scars pen is por so mi desire to be excused

Mr Jermiah Cumings
in Dunstable in New England
this with care & Sped

PASSPORT FOR MESSERS LANGLADE.

Vol. 103 p 1

Michilimackinac 15th April 1763

I have of this date given permission to Messers Langlade pere et fils* to go to live at the post of LaBay & do here—by order that no person may interrupt them in thier Voyage thither with thier Wives Children Servants & Bagage

GEO ETHERINGTON†

Commandant

Langlade

Vol. 450 p 45

DEED OF SALE DAVID FERRIS & PETER WRIGHT
100 ACRES—19 DEC 1764

Whereas His Majesty King George the Third has been graciously Pleased to Grant Certain allowances of Land In North America to the Reduced Officers & Soldiers that served there during the Late War by Proclamation of the 7th Oct. 1763—

And whereas we the Subscribers hereunto are Intitled to One hundred Acres of Land being our allowance by said proclamation & had our Discharges attested before the Governor of New York

Now this indenture Witnesseth that we David Ferris and Peter Wright, both of the 55 Regmt Reduced—For and in Consideration of the sum of Three Pounds Current Money of New York to us in hand paid by William Cockburn of the City of New York, Land Surveyor the Receipt Whereof we do hereby acknowledge for our selves our heirs, Executors and Administrators, do Covinant, Grant and agree to and with the said William Cockburn, his Heirs & Assigns, that we will grant, Release & Convey in due form of Law into him the said William Cockburn, or to any other Person or Persons whom the Said William Cockburn shall appoint, all our Rights Title Interests Property, Claim and demand of in & 'o the Aforesaid One hundred Acres—as soon as Conveniently

*Messrs. Langlade pere et fils were Sieur Augustine Langlade and his son Charles who were men of importance and influence among the Indians of Michilimackinac at the time. Charles was commissioned in 1760 by Louis XV, and appointed second in command at that post. They were both residing at Michilimackinac at the time of the massacre, June 4, 1763 not having availed themselves of the permission to go to La Bay. Capt. Etherington appointed Langlade in command of the fort when he went to make his report on the massacre.

†George Etherington took command of Michilimackinac in August 1762. During the massacre he was taken prisoner but was soon released. In 1772 he was in command at Niagara.

may be after the Grant of the same shall have the seal of the Province of New York And do further testifie that we have Signed a Blank sheet of Paper to be applyed in any maner or way the said William Cockburn shall direct in order to Secure him in the Premises aforesaid

In Witness Whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals at New York this Nineteenth Day of December 1764

David Ferris	[Seal]
Peter Wright	[Seal]

Sealed signed and Delivered in the
presence of William Stewart
David Thomson

Vol. 450 p 89.

GUY CARLETON TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

Quebec 16th. March 1768.

Sir.

I thought it needless to trouble You with an Answer to your Letter of 21st May last, untill I could transmit the Sentiments of the trading People of this Province upon your Regulations for the Indian Trade, which for that Purpose had been Communicated to them, the very instant they came to my Hand; it was some Time before I received the Observations thereupon, which are herewith inclosed, and tho' they contain some improper Expressions, which I by no Means approve, yet I thought it more expedient to convey the same in their own Words, that you might the better Judge of the Arguments used by themselves—

The Point, they seem principally to rest upon, is the Restraining of trading at the Forts, and 'tis indeed the very general Opinion of all those I have conversed with that the Trade to the Upper Country must inevitably be ruined, if that Regulation be continued; it is confidently Asserted, the number of Canoes, to be sent up this Year will fall very short of what was usual in former ones, and are likely still to decrease, so that probably in a short Time, that valuable Branch of Commerce will dwindle to Nothing—

The People here are also very desirous as you will observe by the annexed Petition, that the Vending of Spirits to the

Savages, Destructive of their Species, as well as of the Trade itself, should be restricted within the most moderate Bounds; And herein I am perfectly disposed to concur with the neighbouring Provinces, in every Measure, You may Point out as necessary to bring about so desirable an end, as agreeable to natural Justice, with Respect to the Savages, to whom this Trade is destructive, as it is to the Common Interests of the Colonies, for the Preservation of the Peace and general Tranquility of the Country, as well as of the very Trade itself—

In Justice however to the Merchants and People concerned in the Trade of this Province, I am to assure you, that I never heard one of them cast the least Reflection upon You, or speak of you otherwise, than in terms of the greatest Deference and Regard; they readily believe those Regulations have been made with the best Views to serve the Public, but they are Confident the End proposed thereby has not been answered, and therefore Request, as all Human Institutions savours of Imperfections, this, which was intended for a Benefit, may be carefully revised, and that if experience, of which they consider themselves as the Examples, Demonstrates the same to be erroneous, that they may be rectified and amended—

With Respect to the Canadians, when I make use of that Appellation, it is entirely confined to those who inhabit the present Limits of the Province and in no Shape regards those, who, encouraged by the French Government, have settled at Detroit, the Illinois, or other Places, for the Sake of Colonisation, and by the Peace are become the King's Subjects;—or those extra Provincials, who have expatriated themselves, to give a Loose to their own vitious Inclinations, against whom from Time to Time very severe Ordinances have been issued by the French Governors and Intendants, proscribing them as a Nuisance to Society, and Directing them to be seized and imprisoned, wherever met with, and of this Class, are the Bandits whose Names you transmitted to the Commander in Chief, at least, as I am here credibly informed; That loose and disorderly Persons, like these, may prove the Authors of Mischief, I no ways doubt, but living without the Bounds of my Jurisdiction, it cannot lie with me to Remedy the Abuse Should any actually belonging to this Province seek to excite Troubles, or to promote Confusion, Upon proper and well authenticated Proofs of such evil Intention, every legal Method shall be employed, whoever they are or may be, to bring them to condign Punishment, in order to deter others from treading in the same Steps—

Before I leave this subject, I must further assure you, that as I never heard Sir William Johnson's name used, but where

some Mention has been made of his Services to the State, You may rest Satisfied, that in whatever I have had Ocassion to write thereupon to the King's other Servants, or Yourself, my sole View has been to promote this Service and the public Welfare; I thought it a Duty incumbent upon me to point out a Mistake, at least as it appeared to me, which bears hard upon that Part of the King's Subjects committed to my Charge; after all the best and wisest of Ministers have erred, and Points that wear the fairest Appearance in Speculation, when reduced into Practice, are found inconvenient, To the aforementioned Motives, I am therefore persuaded, You will only impute whatever I have said or done here in, and not to any want of that perfect Regard and Esteem for Yourself, with which I ever am

Sir

Your most Obedient

Humble Servant

GUY CARLTON*

Honble. Sir Willm Johnson Bart.
Supert. for Indian Affairs etc,

Quebec 16th March 1768
From Lt Gov. Carlton
with an inclosure

Vol. 450 p 88

INDIAN FRONTIER TROUBLES

To the honorable the Representatives of the Freemen of the Province of Pennsylvannia in General Assembly Met January 1770

The Petition of sundry Inhabitants of said Province Trading with the Indians on the Western Frontiers of the same
Most humbly Sheweth

That since the Peace your Petitioners have Carried on a Considerable Trade with the Delawares Shawnese and other Indians on the Ohio from which Considerable Advantages arise to this province and without such a Trade your Petitioners humbly presume the Friendship and Amity of those Indians with the Province Cannot be presented.

*Guy Carleton was born in Ireland in 1724, entered military service very young seeing nearly all of his service in America. He was nominated Knight of the Bath in 1776 and made Lord Dorchester in 1786. In 1772 he was made governor of Quebec which position he held until 1782 when he was appointed Commander-in-chief of the British Army in America. He was again appointed governor in 1786 and occupied the position until he was succeeded by Maj. Gen. Prescott. He died in England in 1808.

That a Number of Men armed and Blackned on the Western Fronteer of Cumberland County have lately plundered destroyed and Carried off a Quantity of Merchandise Intended for said Trade the property of Mr Robert Callender* And still Continue to Commit Acts of Violence and Outrage and not only Render it Extreamly Troublesome and Dangerous for your Petitioners to Carry on said Trade but subvert all legal Authority and good order in that Part of the County Wherefore your Petitioners pray the honorable House to take the Premises into Consideration and Grant such Relief as the honorable House shall think most Proper And your
 Petitioners Will Ever pray

Alex. Lowrey†
 Jas. Milligan
 Char McClure
 Jno. Gibson‡

John Boggs
 Devereuse Smith
 Dan. Elliott
 Ens. Mackay

J Spear
 Joseph Simon

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OBADIAH WITHERELL TO LEMUEL SCOTT

West point August 8th 1779

Dear Brother & Sister

after my Nearest regards to you I would Inform you that I have ben prety well for the most part but just now I am Poorly But hope these lines will find you & famely well as me by chance this Night befour Last I heard of Brother John Scott & sent after him & he came to my tent & staid untill bed time he is in the artificiers business he told me he set out for home but Could not Reach the Place he has Cum & is well & at work, but wants to Com home to Se his family but Know forlough will be given at home for artificiers are neaded Vary much & Cant be Spared I heard him Say he wanted to

*Robert Callender was one of the most extensive Indian traders of that period and was one of the twenty-three who suffered in the Bloody River affair losing all his goods. He was captain in the Provincial Army in 1756-57 and received a land grant. His daughter Anna married Gen. Irvine. Mr. Callender died in 1776 and was buried at Carlisle, Pa.

†Alexander Lowrey, son of Lazarus Lowrey, was born in Ireland, December 1727 and came to America with his parents in 1729, settling in Lancaster Co. Pa. He followed his father's pursuit, Indian trading and for forty years was in partnership with Joseph Simon. He took an active part in the Revolution and died Jan. 31, 1806.

‡John Gibson, the interpreter of the celebrated speech of Logan, was an Indian trader, born at Lancaster, Pa., May 23, 1740. He served in the French and Indian wars, was taken prisoner by the Indians in 1763 and adopted by an aged squaw. In 1764 he was among the prisoners given over to Col. Boquet and then settled at Pittsburg. In 1774 he joined the expedition against the Shawnees under Lord Dunmore. During the Revolution he served among the Indians of Ohio. He died at Braddock's Field, Alleghany Co., April 10, 1822.

Send Som money home Safe & would Inbrace the first Oppertunity we Expect Leiut mather up to the army Soon & by him will be a Good Chance,—you wrote to me of hard times with you but I cant hardly think you know what hard times are to be Equal to Ours but I Do Suppose that be Gives to hard for I am sure that has ben my lose for this long time—but Dont be Discouraged yet for hard times ant yet hard if felt with you when this army is Disbanded & another is Cald for to Supply our places & the Charges of the near are Called for by Rates when this is Dun & So much to Pay & we should be clear of the army & not Pitty you then hard times would be felt for I am Shur your tame lads that you had Sent up to us for 9 months at a time two years Runing wont Be paid by Continental Banks, Nether will we Cum home Contented with our Pertended wages I Sopose you call it So forty Shillings purmunth But we are anxious to Cum home Soon to Cloak you out forty Shillings Purmumth & you that has Giving Nine hundred Pounds besides four Pounds Pr. month to Nine months men will be Drove of with your old muskets to Defend the Entrest you have Colekted whilst we have on dun our Selves for the Cuntry—I Speak In a General Sence not meaning you be Couse I am Discoursing with you but you will find a Great part of this truth Elss I am mistaken—Give my complements to my friend if you know of any . you may tell them I am So harty I Dont mind it for we Shall be Shall be thick amongst you In a litel time So I conclude

Subscribing my Selfe your Loving Brother—

OBADIAH WITHERELL

To Mr. Lemll Scott—

To
Mr Lemmule Scott
Pipperell

Obadiah Witherall*

to

James Witherell†

West point. Aug 8 1779

*Obediah Witherell (Wetherell) was born at Pepperell, Mass., Aug. 26, 1748, son of Charles and Ruth Wetherell. He enlisted from the same place in the regiment of Col. William Prescott in 1775. He rose to the rank of lieutenant and resigned Sept. 14, 1780. He suffered losses in the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill. (Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors.)

†James Witherell was born in Mansfield, Mass., July 16, 1759, and died in Detroit, Mich., Jan. 9, 1838. He won distinction in the Revolution, was U. S. representative from Vermont to Congress and came to Detroit as judge in 1808. He served for nearly twenty years and was then appointed secretary of the territory. One of his daughters was the wife of Thomas Palmer and mother of the late Sen. Thomas Witherell Palmer of Michigan, President of the World's Fair at Chicago, and Minister to Spain. (Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit)

EXEAT A RAGIMENTS OF THE REG OF THE NEW ASTABLISHMENT & WHAT BRIGADES THAY BELONG TO.

Cambridge 1775

Colonels	Lt Colonels.	Majors	Brigades
1 Thompson	Hand	Morgan	Rifelman
2 Read N Hampshear	Gilman	Hale	Sullivans
3 Lerner	Shepperd	Sprout	Thomass
4 Nixon	Nixon	Coburn	Sullivan
5 Starks	Poor	Moore	Sullivan
6 Brewer	Buckminster	Cudworth	Greens
7 Prescott	Molton	Wood	Heaths
8 Poor	McDuffee	Cilly	Sullivans
9 Varnum	Green	Carary	Greens
10 Parsons	Tyler	Prentice	Spencers
11 Hitchhook	Cornwall	Angell	Greens
12 Littel	Hanshaw	Collins	Greens
13 Read Uxbridge	Clap	Smith	Spencer
14 Glover	Johnnott	Lee	Putnams
15 Patterson	Read	Sharburn	Heaths
16 Sergeant	Enos	Austin	Putnams
17 Huntington	Clark	Humphris	Spencers
18 Phinney	March	Brown	Heaths
19 Wiell	Hall	Brooks	Sullivans
20 Arnold	Durke	Knowlton	Putnams
21 Ward	Tupper	Bigelow	Thomass
22 Willis	Putnam	Meigs	Spencers
23 Bailey	Jacobs	Houden	Thomass
24 Greateon	Vose	Loring	Heaths
25 Bond	Alden	Jackson	Greens
26 Baldwin	Wesson	Wood	Heaths
27 Hutchinson	Eager	Putnam	Greens

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JOHN TRUMBULL TO GEN. NATHANIEL GREENE

To General Green* 1782

Dear General

I had the honour of yours by Capt Pendleton just about the time I had the pleasure of hearing that you had completed all the purposes of your Southern Expedition by the Reduction of Charleston & the retreat of the Enemy. I congratulate you on your recovery from illness for it would have been an unlucky time to have quitted the world before the Completion of that undertaking—But since that is now effected, I doubt whether you will ever find a better time to die in, for the sake of Reputation than the present. I say not this from motives of private Interest for tho' I acknowledge you would make a glorious Subject for poetical Elegies, as I should certainly send one after you by the first Conveyance Yet it would deprive me of the happiness of all

*Gen. Nathaniel Greene (1742-1786) of Revolutionary fame.

future Interviews, with you, at least in this world, which my Vanity leads me with much warmth to anticipate & desire—and I would rather have the honor of one such living Friend to boast of in this world, than that of writing the best Elegy on forty dead ones. Nor do I give this advice from motives of Public Good, for the Public will undoubtedly have some further occasion for your Services, & are very unwilling yet to part with you, by what I can discover, tho' I have sounded Sundry people on the Subject. But I speak merely out of Friendship to & regard for your Reputation. I would wish to know what futher prospects you can have in this world, that can equal the Glory you have already acquired. Can there be any thing yet remaining in the present war that can bear any proportion to the Actions you have already performed? Is there an other Theatre in the world in which you would have Similar opportunity to display that Spirit undaunted by misfortune, & unchecked by obstacles that fertility of resources that activity of Enterprise, those military Stratagams, where the General effected the purposes to which his Army were almost infinitely inferior, & a thousand and other Talents, which very many people undertake to Say you have displayed in the course of your Command, & which I cannot find even the most Envious are very well able to contradict & disprove; or if such a Theatre were again offered, can you be certain that Fortune, who is apt to be very meddling in military matters, & who has several times disconcerted General Washington in some of the best concerted schemes ever invented, would always be equally propitious to your wishes. In short the best prospects I can see before you, are to continue almost inactive to the End of the war, & then retire to be Governor of one of the Southern States, a post to which so many have attained without any extradinory merit, that it is a kind of condescension in you to think of it—I have considered all possible objections to my Advice As to the fear of Death, You have so often met the Old Phantom face to face in the field, & shown your utter disregard of all his terrors & menaces that I cannot Conceive that to be any Objection—And leave it to Divines & Philosophers to determine whether when a man has attained to the highest pinnacle of earthly Glory, it be not a much shorter & easier Journey for him to step at once into Paradise than after he has descended again Several hundred Paces, towards the common level of Humanity—

(Unsigned letter of John Trumbull*)

*John Trumbull, born at Waterbury, Ct., April 24, 1750 author of "M'Fingal," the Hudibras of the Revolution, was the father-in-law of Gov. William Woodbridge of Michigan. Trumbull died at Detroit, Mich. May 12, 1831.

Vol. 450 Page 243

POWER OF ATTORNEY—GUY CARLETON TO
ALEXANDER ADAIR

Know all Men by These presents That I Sir Guy Carleton Lieutenant General of his Majestys Forces and Colonel of the 47th Regiment of Foot have made constituted and appointed and do These Presents make constitute and appoint Alexander Adair of Whitehall Esquire my true and Lawful Attorney for me and in my Name to contract for the Cloathing to be provided for the said Regiment or any other Regiment that His Majesty shall be pleased to give me the Command of and by good and sufficient Writing under his Hand and Seal to Assign over from time to time to such person or persons as He shall think proper for Cloathing to be by Him provided for the use of the said Regiment or any other Regiment I may Command and all the off reckonings or Cloathing Money of all and every the Sergeants Corporals Drummers Fifers and Private Men of the said Regiment or any other Regiment that may be under my Command and to do all that is requisite or necessary to be done in the premisses as fully and effectually as I myself might or could do if personally present In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this fifth day of April 1782 and in the Twenty-Second year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth—

Guy Carleton [Seal]

Signed Sealed and delivered
(being first duly Stampd)
in the presence of
W. Butt
Marsh Kirch

Entered in the Office of the Right Hon'ble John Lord Viscount Mountstuart Auditor the 26th Aug. 1783

CHAS. HARRIS

Entered in the Office of the Right Honble Lewis Lord Sondes Auditor the 23 of April 1784

In Wigglesworth Dep of Aud

Vol. 817 Page 157.

WILLIAM ARUNDEL TO THOMAS WILLIAMS & CO.

Sandusky 27th April 1782

Sir

You'l please receive the Packs as Mentioned I could not send the two Boats in at Prest as we are under the Necessity keeping one here in case of danger from the enemy to cut & run upon the first notice of their Approach, the Peltry is not yet come from the Shawaney Country nor will not be all here till the Latter end next Month the thought there will a quantity the reason it is not here is the roads was impracticable this Winter and the woods all Burnt in the fall so there was no food for the Horses, the Blankts you sent out were mostly Damg'd therefore must be sold per first opportunity them that are not Merchantable,

You'l please send us about 30 lbs Good Smoaking Tobacco of that raised in the Settlemt & two Casses of Tobacco, Whitaker begs you'l be so good as Send him 8 Galls of Rum & Charge it to him as he expects to be in he'll pay you then, You'll please send the two Pd. flour,—and two pound Bohea tea—

Be so good as send the Boat off immediately as Soon as them things, and if Mr Baby has any thing to send S Gerty please let him know they can be sent by the Boat as well as LeVellie who I believe will come out in the Boat—

The news of the Place is per the Prisoner Brot in this Spring & from Diff parts is that great preparations are makg to come to Agt the Indian Country but not against Dt. as it must (as they say) fall of Course, the Defeat of Lord Cornwallis to the Southwd by the F & A has given them a Notion & its Resolve on the French Fleet to come round to Quebec & the A by the way of Lake Champlain, their Committee Man Just left the Congress when this was Resolved 'd on & their orders was when this was Resolved 'd on & their orders was Accordingly Issued out for that purpose, they are now Recruiting & filling up the Vacancies & sending forces over the X X Mountain, and the People are Settling thicker along the Big River than Usual & are in great Spirits, I have got this out of the Prisoners they seem to be Stauch Americans and cannot Bear to hear any thing said by any of the rest here but in their favr, a Sundry last they Adopted two of them Brot in by Coone* & party one was Recd & the other was to be in the place of ½ Kings Son killed last fall, who was Refus'd & ordd by the half King† to be given over to the Muncey's to be

*Coone—probably Abraham Coon, an interpreter.

†Half King was a Huron chief of Sandusky, Ohio. Under the British he aided the Delawares in their resistance to white settlers but saved a Moravian massacre at Lichtenau in 1777. He was opposed to drunkenness. He signed the treaty of Fort McIntosh as "Daughquat." His son Harvenyou signed the treaties of Greenville, Ft. McIntosh and Springwells. "Dayenty" or Half King was at Detroit as early as 1779 and was present at the council of April 24, 1783. He lived on the Huron Reserve near the River Canard and died about February or March 1791. His daughter lived there after his death. (Mich. Pioneer Colls. Reprint, Vol. 20.)

Burnt or killed to be revenged for his Son, but was prevented by a Belt I gave & is now with the People that Bro't him in Coone Acted very well in this Affair & laid it down as a Great Afft on them that gave the Prisoner in I suppos'd he & another will Soon be Sent in to the Command Offr the Indian are daily expecting the Vessel with the Assistance requested Saome time ago so as to be able to goe out & Meet these people before they come to their Town & try to Defend them on the Road—

I am Sir with Compt to Mrs Wms
Your Very Hble Servt

WM ARUNDEL

You'll please Send us a Good Clotk for if we have to run we'll want it—

Dumford's to have five Pds for the trip—

Gevan Arrived here from the trip in the last & came as he went
[Probably addressed to Thomas Williams* & Co]

Vol. 817 Page 189.

RICHARD WRIGHT TO THOMAS WILLIAMS & CO

Carleton Island 5th June 1782

Dear Williams

I have nothing Meteral to Rite only that the Brigades of provisions is Dayly Arriveing which to apparance Will Keep me late on the Communication. their is Now at this place About 100 boats Load of Merchantdize, the half of which is Lickquor for Detroit Belonging to Different people. the Loss of the West India Islands Will prevent Any Rum from being Shipt in England this Year. Mr. Thompsons Creditors are Comeing forward Who Expects a Large Sum from him I hop Youl be so Looky As to Git the Balence of My Acct before their Arrival

I now live in a tent on Salt Provetions this affords Nothing better Except a few fish. Enclosed You have Such Accounts as I have Recd. from Mr. Graham—

I think in the Course of the Month of July I shall Likely Leave this Unhabitable Island With the Most of our proparty—Am Dear Thomas. With the best Respects to Mrs Williams & Johnny. Wishing you all a pleasnt Summer

Your Most Hble Servt

RICHD WRIGHT

Thomas Williams. Esq.

*Thomas Williams, a merchant in Detroit who came from Albany, N. Y. in 1765. He married Cecila Campau, sister of Joseph Campau. Their son John R. Williams was the first mayor of the city of Detroit.

N. GREENE TO JOHN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters Ashley River

Sept 29th 1782

Dear Sir

This will be handed you by Capt Pendleton by whom I intended to have written you a short natural and political history of this Country; but I just recovered from a fever and have a disagreeable sore eye which obliges me to relinquish the design.

Our troubles in this quarter appear to be drawing to a close, Savannah is evacuated and great preparations are making for the evacuation of Charlestown; and if my information is good New York is to be evacuated this fall also. This will give us some repose the next blessing to that of peace. But I think our prospects are flattering for peace and may heaven send her with all her smiling train. However I think we should suspect everything the british do or say. They ought to be regarded as old liars not credited even tho they should speak the truth. If they make peace with us it is from necessity and not out of any affection or good will towards us. Nor is it certain but that they will try to humble the pride of France and then begin anew with us. Was there a proper spirit of union among the States or was the temper of the people more congenial with the Spirit of our constitutions I should have less apprehensions on this subject than I have but where the head is sick and the heart faint nothing but languor and inactivity is to be expected. Congress is without power and many of the States indifferant to the common enterest and general safety of the Nation.

Our conflict here has been very severe, the whole Country is in a manner ruined. The disfection of the people has multiplied the calamities of war. The weeping widows and the distressed Orphan fills the land with mourning. And every part of the Country exhibits monuments of british fury

I hope you are convinced of your mistake that I did not know how to run away, the many specimens I have given in the progress of the Southern war must have convinced you and all the World how groundless your apprehensions on that head. But we have as fully satisfied the british that we know how to advance as we have our friends that we know how to retreat. The Southern States have been much pleased with our exertions; and have manifested their gratitude in a generous way.

Many people of this Country wish to get you to become a Settler here Governor Mathews desired me to write you on the subject. Men of taste and genius are much courted and encouraged by the principal Inhabitants. I think you might improve your fortune; but it might be a tax on your health. I have

been warmly solicited to become an inhabitant of this Country; but I am obliged to be silent on the subject as fortune has too much power over my future plans to fix my residence in any one part of America I shall wish to be near my friends where ever they reside among whom you and Wadsworth hold a place near my heart.—

I am happy to hear the Col is in the high road to wealth—in this fortune cannot be charged with blindness for no man has a better claim to her gifts. He has a noble soul and a generous temper and well diffuse happiness all around him. I love him as a brother and admire him as a friend

I have written more than I intended and more than I ought; but the pleasure of conversing with you has insensibly led me on to this length. If the enemy leave the Country soon I expect to be to the Northward this winter; and cannot help anticipating the pleasure of taking you by the hand. May heaven prove propitious to my wish and give me the pleasure I wish for.

With the warmest attachment, I am
dear Sir

Your friend and humble Servt
N GREEN

John Trumbell Esq

John Trumbull Esquire
Attorney at Law
Connecticut

Adressed:
Capt Pendleton.

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WILLIAM HANDS TO ANGUS McINTOSH

Michilimackinac 29th May 1783

Dear MacIntosh

According to my Promise I write you these few lines which should you not Answer you may depend of its being the last scrap you ever Receive, you must Excuse the shortness of it as I have four Letters to write & only two sheets of Paper.—We arrived at this Infernal Dismal Post last Sunday after a Passage of Twelve days & to give you my opinion of it, I believe from the Gulph of St Lawrence to Hudson Bay there is not to be found so Gloomy a Situation, however I hope my Business will not detain me long or I should lose my Senses—

Mr James Grant arrivd half an hour ago from Montréal the first Canoe this Year I need not acquaint you with the News as I suppose you have that some time past

I enquired after Mr McTavish* & hear he was to leave Montreal the 15th so that we may Expect him in a few days. you may depend on his receiving your Letter & of those of the Grand Portage being forwarded by the very first for that Place. I again Repeat that if I can be of any Service to you here you may Command me I would take the same Liberty with you if Necessary Alex Kay is Expected to morrow—make my bests Respects to the Gentleman of the Mess at Forsyths Particularly to Leith & all enquiring friends & Accept the same from

Yours Sincerely

WILLM HANDS†

Mr A McIntosh‡

Merchant Montreal per favor of Mr Freemont I hope I have no Occasion to Remind you that Paper is not scarce at Detroit

Vol. 819 Page 54.

DAVID RANKIN TO THOMAS WILLIAMS & CO.

Michilimakinac June 12th 1784

Gentleman

Your favor of May 29th came Safe to hand as also the Ten Bags of Flour. which I believe will be Sufficient for me untill a new crop be got in. if you have plenty of Rum and can Afford it for ten or Eleven Shillings p Gallon (payable this fall) Send me four or five Barrels by the first opportunity of a Vessel as also my Acct. We have been much Alarmed here with a Report that the Indians Intended cutting off this post. which I believe that there was a good deal of truth in it. but as they are discovered I hope it will not cum to any further head. but they are still gethering to gether in great numbers from Saugnaes & other places. there was a Scalpe presented in Councle Som days ago by one of the Ottaway Chiefs which was sent them from the Dellawars & Shienaus Which is supposed was to Execite the Ottaways to Ware

*Simon McTavish, a fur trader of Montreal, later one of the owners and directors of the Northwest Fur Company. His name appears on the census roll of Detroit in 1782.

†William Hands was sheriff and registrar of Essex, Kent and Lambton, Canada. On Dec. 10, 1789, he married Mary Abbott, oldest daughter of James Abbott of Detroit and lived at Sandwich, Ont., where he died Feb. 20, 1836.

‡Angus McIntosh was one of the early Indian traders in the northwest and factor of the Hudson Bay Co. In 1788 he married Archange de St. Martin. At the time of Jay's treaty McIntosh elected to remain a British citizen. He owned property in Detroit but lived in Sandwich, Ont. in a house which became known as the old "Moy House." Late in life he fell heir to a landed estate called Moy, in Scotland. He died at Moy Hall, Scotland, Jan. 25, 1833. His wife died at Sandwich and was buried there July 13, 1827.

which thy deny but will not give any account for what Reason it was sent. We have news from the Massispey and it appears that the People in General have made very badly
Gentleman

Your Most Obedient Humble
Servant

DAVID RANKIN*

Messers Thomas Williams & Co
Merchants
Detroit

Vol. 19 Page 1

THOMAS WILLIAMS & CO. TO MURRAY SANSON & CO.

6 doz brass Lock Cocks

2 ps fine brown jean

2 ps Drab. do

12 doz pad Locks assorted

Messrs Murray Sanson & Co†
Gentlemen

Detroit 27th Sept 1785

Inclosed is an order for Sundry Goods to be shipped on my own account & risk which I flatter myself you will please compleat as near the letter of the order & as reasonable as Possible; If the Post should be given up before the month of July next and no Provision made for goods to come by the way of Canada into the United States, it will be necessary to ship to New York. & in which case I would advise the Coffee, Tea — & Soap to be purchased there. as being much lower than in England. Your Shoemaker I think charges very high for his shoes. I wish they could be had something lower & that they were better assorted then those sent T Williams & Co last year—

The Callimincoes Are also something high. if any could be had at about 23 or 24/ they would — answer the purpose much better being the quality most in demand. As goods are mostly Transported to this place in open boats, it will be necessary to make the packages small than usual in order to be more handy in Loading & Unloading. which is frequently the case in coasting the Great Lakes

1a Shott or ball in abox, 20 prs Blankets, 4ps Stroud. 4 ps Russia. 3 ps Coating or Ratteen in abale the trunks of the medling Size & every other Package in Proportion to the above. Shipped to — Quebec or New York I hope it will be in Earliest & Speediest

*David Rankin, a merchant at Mackinac who did business in Detroit. In 1781 his name appears as a witness to a deed for the purchase of Mackinac Island.

†Merchants at Albany.

bottoms , as the early arrival often commands, an advantageous Sale . I have enclosed you a pattern for beads . let one half be of that size & the other half somewhat larger

I am Gentn. with the Sincèrest esteem
Your most Humble Servt.
(Not signed but probably from Thomas Williams & Co.)

Vol. 909 Page 116

WILLIAM WILSON TO WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

Sandusky Rapids March 22 .d 1788

Dear Sir

I arrived at this place a few Days ago , with an invitation from the Commissioners of Congress to the indians to meet them in may or June next near the falls of Muskingan for the purpose of holding a Treaty , I expect to meet Mr Duncan* at the Treaty so Soon as it is over & Mr Duncan & myself Returns to pittsburgh one of us intends Seting out for Detroit in order to indeavor if possible to Recover Some of our Lost property (I am affraid So we may call it)

I wrote you from this place in Jan Last I hope it got Safe to hand I Shall thank you for a Line or two on that Subject by the bearer Captn Coon , who Returns to this place before I shall leave it ,

I have directed a Letter herewith sent to your Care for Mr Davision my attorney which pleas forward by the first safe Conveyance you will also pleas present my Respectful Compliments to Mr. Askins

I am Dear Sir your obednt humble
Servant

WM. WILSON†

Mr. William Robertson‡
Mercht Detroit

*David Duncan was collector of customs at Michilimackinac in 1801, 1805.

†William Wilson was also sent as interpreter to the Miami council in 1792. He died at Greenville and was buried Sept. 5, 1796 during Wayne's expedition.

‡William Robertson was an early merchant who settled at Detroit in 1782. He elected to remain a British subject after Jay's treaty but remained in Detroit until after its surrender to Wayne. He was one of several men who formed a plot to purchase the lower peninsula of Michigan from the United States in 1795. He married Catherine Askin, daughter of John Askin.

Vol. 456 Page 65

DAVE MEREDITH TO JOHN ASKIN.

Woolwich , Nov. 29 1791

My Dear Sir,

By the Packet via New York , I did myself the pleasure of writing you a long letter. of the 5th Instant which I flattered myself might reach you by the Winter Express I now embrace the December opportunity which conveys to you the happy information that my dearest Archange has presented me with a Daughter — * * * * *

Our Duty here is exceeding severe their being but for inhab few Subalterns at Quarters. We have the Guards every third & fourth Day besides An officer of the Working Party — and of the Week . these with Repository Exercises cause the few remaining to be constantly sash'd — the Duke is still undertermined as to sending us to the out Posts in the ensuring Spring I most heartily wish it may take place , for Woolwich from the dearness of living & — is a situation not to be covered by Officers . of a small income,

The Constitution of France remains yet in an unsettled State and tho the thing has accepted of every point offered him — Yet the learned Politicians aver — it cannot rest long — the Two Princes are still at Coblentz and have an Army of Fourteen or Fifteen thousand Men for the most part officers who have deserted from the National Troops and Voluntarily enlisted under the banners of the Princes who it seems are determined to invade France when they expect to be immediately joined by Prodigious Numbers who are dissatisfied with the new fangled Government — The Duke and Duchess of York Arrived at Dover on Friday last and were in Town on Saturday — at York House — She is a woman of a most engaging manner ,— tho not remarkably handsome has been extremely ill since landing ,— great rejoicings are preparing for the next week :—the Nation is highly pleased with the Match ,— the Prince of Wales has made a present to his Sister in law of a Stoamacher so highly beset with Diamonds as to have cost Twenty thousand Pounds — the Duchess first appearance at our Court was a very brilliant one — and no Birth Day was ever so fully attended .— The streets were lined from York Palace to St James and the Honest John Bull's huzzaed the Royal Pair on their progress to the Court. I shall now leave of for the present and finish this letter a day or to hense which will enable me to afford you some other matter,—

Dec— the 2nd enables me to tell you that both my Archange and little Anne are in good health. * * *

Our gracious Duke has just sent orders down for Five Chaplains , Seven Subalterns and Three hundred Men to March to Chatham of our Battalion to relieve the like Number of the

3rd Battn. now stationed there — I much fear it will be my lot to go, his Grace does not consider the Expence acuring to Married officers upon such movements however I shall apply for leave to remain behind until Mrs M is sufficiently strong and Capable, — the distance is but short. — since writing the above official accounts received by Government and at the India House — inform us that my Lord Cornwallis in the East Indies has given a total defeat to Tippo Saib,* who has lost almost the whole of his Country — and is now shut up Seringapatam† his Capital and last resort, — the next [accounts] are supposed to give intelligence of that City being in our possession which circumstance would close the War, all is quiet and the only matter in agitation is the formation of a New Settlement — at *Sierra Leona*,‡ upon the African Coast the Principal Merchants in London as well other Monied Men have Subscribed to the Amount of 100, 000 Sterling and a Civil and Military Establishment are now forming which will Sail in the Spring. — the Chief idea is — to raise Sugar Plantations etc and thereby lower the Pride and vast consequence of the West India Merchants — and at the same time Show them and the world at large that such effect can be carried into execution without the attachment of Slavery, — Government have made a present of a large tract of Land to the Sierra Leona Company — which some few years past (two or three) they had purchased from the natives, — I know of no other news at present — therefor with much esteem and kind Remembrance to all the Family

*Tippo Sahib (1749-1799) killed during the siege May 4th.

†Formerly capital of Mysore, India, founded in 1454, situated on an island in Kaveri (Cauvery) River. A formidable stronghold of Tipu Sultan, captured by the British in 1799.

‡Sierra Leone colony on the west coast of Africa. An English fort was built on the Sierra Leone estuary toward the close of the 17th century but was soon abandoned. In 1787 an attempt was made to start a colony of liberated African slaves. This was a failure. In 1791 Falconbridge collected survivors and laid out a new settlement, Granville's town. This was promoted by the Sierra Leona Company but was also unsuccessful.

—and with Complements to Friends in General I subscribe myself with my Archange Love to you her Mother Sister etc etc —

My Dear Sir .—

truly Yours

D. MEREDITH*

Endorsed

Inland Post Paid

John Askin Esq.**

Merchant at

Detroit

Canada .

To the care of

Messrs Todd† and McGill‡

Merchants at Montreal, Canada

Dec. 3rd .

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DANIEL MERCER TO JOHN ASKIN.

Dublin Barracks July 20 th 1792

My Dear Friend

An opportunity so rarely offers , and when it does I cannot neglect — embracing it of giving you a line as well as to acquaint You with the welfare of my family as to have the pleasure of

*Capt. David Meredith married Archange the daughter of John Askin and his wife Marie Archange Barthe.

**John Askin was born at Strabane near Belfast, Ireland, about 1741. He came to America during the French and Indian wars in the British army. He became a partner of Robert Rogers of Albany in the Indian trade. After Pontiac's conspiracy he went to the Northwest Territory. His first wife was an Indian woman, their daughter Catherine married first William Robertson and after his death Robert Hamilton, founder of Hamilton, Ont. Mr. Askin's second wife was Marie Archange Barthe, by whom he had nine children. After Jay's treaty Mr. Askin elected to remain a British subject but lived in Detroit until 1802 when he moved to the Canadian shore of the Detroit River not far from Walkerville. His new home he called Strabane. He died in 1818. (Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit—Governor and Judges Journal. 1915)

†Isaac Todd was an Irish gentleman who came to Montreal and acquired riches. He died May 22, 1821 at Bath, England, leaving a daughter Eleanor and the children of a nephew, Andrew Thornton Todd his heirs.

‡James McGill was born in Glasgow, Scotland, Oct. 6, 1744, and came to America at a very early age, engaging in the mercantile business in Montreal. He amassed a large fortune and held many prominent public offices. He founded McGill College in Montreal and died Dec. 19, 1813.

making inquiry after Yours and our Other friends that are about you I have by accident heard this morning that an Officer leaves this on his way for Detroit , on Sunday and that this letter will be conveyed under cover to Colonel England , Whom we hear that the Command it is to be hoped it will gain its distinction , As I'm persuaded you will receive pleasure to hear that Mrs Mercer . the Girls and myself are well , Theresa has just got the better of a Slight touch of Scarlet fever — You will perceive by this we have got into the Land of promise — where every thing was painted in favorable colors as to cause us to be Desirous of getting to it — altho' You are one of its natives I must say that we do not find it to answer our expectations or even the discription given , and now we have left England , Phillis thinks the exchange for the worse. infact there's no place that we have been too Since we left America that is equal to it we have our earnest wishes to return there again it is probable . You have heard of our leaving England before this will get to hand — however in future that we may not be disappointed from hearing let me entreat You to direct Your Letters — to the care of Mr John Mercer at Uxbridge Where ever I may be he will know where to forward them, it is a length of time Since I was convinced by a letter from under Your own hand that you some time have us in remembrance I assure you & with truth that we frequently have our friend as a Subject of conversation . and with those who feel a pleasure in recapitulate our former Scenes of pleasantry and mirth which we partook of at Detroit — Several of them who would willingly return there again — those who have not Strong inducements as ourselves — We have been in the Country since March last , and by the Common routine of Duty are likely to continue for 6 to 7 years . before that time expires I think it probable I shall have had enough of Soldiering , My Military rage is already damped and I now Continue in it as a Matter of Convenience . Shd. anything offer suitable to my wishes I should retire from the present Situation in life — 'till then I must weather it on—the goods things of this Country have agreed with us , as You may perhaps hear through Mr Todd whom we Saw hither about a fortnight since and from him we had intelligence from your Quarter . Saying that all was well . — We have not heard anything of Meredeth since leaving England neither from Mr Robertson , whom I have wrote to requesting he would communicate information to us whenever he rec. any from his Brother. You find we lay every lure to hear of You, which is in some measure consolement for not having it from under your own hand — In regard to the Regt. there are but four remaining in it whom you remember

The Colonel & Madame continue with us , as does also the Major. Capt Willoe is in a very bad way and if he doth not soon sell out , I think his friends will be sufferers as he doth not

appear to be long for this world , His loss would be to us and some others Irreparable, the same degree of friendship exists with us as ever has done — Burnett , has sustained a very heavy loss in his family Miss Burnett died the 29th May of Consumption I must now come to a conclusion as I mean to convince the commodore that I do not forget him whatever he may think of us , as I shall write to him by this oppty. Phillis joins in love & best wishes to Mrs Askin, Theresa and all your family — not forgetting her to her Brother's the Girls also unite in the Same I am with affectionate esteem

Yours D MERCER*

John Askin Esq.
at
Detroit —
Canada

Vol. 3 Page 16.

TODD, MCGILL & CO. TO JOHN ASKIN.

Montreal 28 th . April 1795

Dear Sir,

Since our respects to you of the 31 th Jan. last we have received your Sundry favors of the 31 Dec. 1794 21 st Jany 2 & 4 Feby last and pay due attention to their Contents ——— To begin with the first — we think you have been fortunate in receiving all your Goods of that year even with a little damage tho' it certainly is always more pleasing when they get to hand without accident — Your Family were well , except yourself from Rheumatic Pains we hope they did not continue long with you and that you are again restored to good Health—we observe the great Consumption of Beaf by the Indians, and as you have the Supplies to make with Mr Robertson — you certainly ought to derive some advantage to recompence you — we have called on Mr Gregory the acting partner for the Nwest Co.y on the subject of a contract for you and find that he had not rec'd any Letter from you on the business by the Winters Express — he is to look over the Contract with Mackintosh and acquaint us — of which you shall be informed —

In settling for the quantity's of flour delivered by you & Mr Robertson into the Kings Store , we had made a Calculation of it at a much higher price than was approved of at Head-Quarters as you will see by comparing the sum at Credit of your Accot,

*Lieut. Daniel Mercer of the King's or Eighth Regt. was stationed at Michilimackinac in the Engineer's Department 1779-1780. He had an altercation with David Macrae (McCrae) while there and was placed under arrest by Gov. Sinclair. He was stationed at Detroit 1781-1783. (Mich. Pion. Colls.)

Current and the Bill of Parcels pass'd at Quebec of which we inclosed you a Copy—the difference is about 20 d p hundred — of course we bring back the first and Cr you with the record amount as stated—but in settling for Mr Dupernes , we have allowed to him for any 108 French weight 117 English which we consider the difference between French & English Weight 8 1/3 P Cent—and the same price as to you P 112 — should we have mistaken the business — this will serve to guide you in rectifying the same — we observe that Corn was likely to rise above 8/ . YK—

By yours of the 21st Jany. we observe that you had rec'd the Spirits from Mr Hamilton which are at your debit ——— we observe what you say respecting the mode of delivering flour & the time of obtaining Certificates from the Commissary ——— we suppose you adopt or follow the best you can and where there is no choice you cannot be availed of an alternative whilst you continue to make the Supply———You say that you will have occasion to draw on us for Money when you send drafts or Receipts for Beef Supplies — we hope that they may be at such dates as to keep us from making advance for we find sometimes Receipts payable at Quebec to lay over longer than is expected ———we certainly approve of your resolution and determination to collect your Debts and by your account Current you will see the necessary of applying some remedy to the growing balance ———the prospect of Returns from your parts seem not to be flattering nor can we say that they will be bettered by any increase of price tho' we have no certain accounts of the value of peltries from England , yet we do not expect during the continuance of the War, & there is but little hope of a speedy termination , that peltries of any kind will augment —

We find some difficulty in getting Winters enough for Mr Robertson's Battoe , but if we can meet with any for you , we shall hire them and attend to your order if a rough Carpenter can be got—— The goods which wintered with you for Makinac we hope would get forward early — the packet you mention to have rec'd for Mr Todd had not gone to him the 15 Jany last which is very unfortunate indeed — Your other Letters of the 2 & 4 Feby advising of 2 Drafts made over to Mr Duperne & Mr Bonell and to advance about 200 to one of your Men's Wife have been attended to & the Drafts honored — the final articles of hats etc will accompany the Woman and She will have a passage in some of our Boats for Makinac with her little family which consists of three children & herself — Mr. Gregory* has just called & shewn us a letter from you dated 29 August where in you say " I have renewed the contract for provisions , at the same time assure you the terms are to low however as perhaps others would do it at the same , I can't expect more, but thank the Company for the

*John Gregory was a merchant of Montreal.

preference" — thus it would appear you have concluded the Contract for yourself & left nothing for us to do in the business

Inclosed we now hand you Amount Current Interest Account made up to the 10th Instant balance owing to us £ 27, 186. 4 . 3¾ Currency Say Twenty seven thousand and one hundred and Eighty Six pounds 4 3 ¾ Currency which after examination if you find right, be pleased to confirm—it is unnecessary for us to dwell on the Magnitude of this sum—the balance increasing yearly cannot be to soon put a stop to & we trust some favorable circumstance may turn up to put it in your power — As occurrences fall in the way we shall from time to time keep you advised & when we can be serviceable be assured our inclination will not be wanting — We remain respectfully —

Dear Sir Your most obed Servt
TODD, MCGILL & Co

[To John Askin]

Vol. 3 Page 25

JOHN ASKIN, SR., TO JOHN ASKIN, JR.

Detroit July 5 th 1795

Dear John —

As you were much hurried at leaving this and may have forgot part of what I said to you I think it advisable to repeat the principal matters I spoke to you about —

First I recommend strongly to you to use your utmost influence , not only with the Indians but also with all others whose advice they take to Endeavor that the first article of the Treaty between them and the americans should be that they are sole Masters of their Lands, to dispose of them as they think fit without any restraint Whatsoever which if it can be obtained will be a future Source of wealth for these poor people and their offspring and Leave it in their powers , not only to confirm Such Sales of Land as they have already made (when they know them to be Just) but in future to reward such others as May be their Friends . this appears to me so reasonable and fair , that I should think the Commissioners for the States could not object to it, and it would secure in my Opinion a Lasting Peace between both , which I apprehend never will be the case should the States lay a Claim to the Indian Lands or force them to a Sale for when what they get is Expected , and their successors in want they will probably have recourse to Violent means tho' they should not succeed — But as it is necessary to provide against the worst , if the Indians thro the needy Interpreters Should be prevailed on in spite of all you can do to agree that the Americans have the

Right of confirming the sales of their Lands, and that none can be Valid without No doubt you will in that case produce your Claims and get the Indians to acknowledge them in open Council and take necessary Steps to secure them , but never at the expense of betraying the Interests of the Indians since the object of Your Voyage Was to save them . —

I am apprehensive that undue means may be taken to gain over the needy Interpreters who have Influence with the Indians to persuade them to Sell or give up the Rights of Selling their Lands to the States , I know you above bribery let the offer be ever so great , Therefore have nothing to Say on that Subject , however other Means may be tried to gain you over such as making you a proposal of so much a year to Manage the — Indian affairs of the Ottawas and Chippewas who have Urged You to go with them . — If that should happen no doubt you will reject it, Some of our double friends have said they would make known to General Weyne those who have acted against him Last year; Poor, weak, Worthless People , to think that any man in power would dislike those who have faithfully done their Duty to the Government they lived under . as you have no favour to ask, and are only with the Indians at their request to befriend them with your advice and to explain what they say, you need not care for the Snubbs or frowns of any man , you have the means of procuring What you want while at Fort Greenville , Therefore except what good manners and politeness requires is all You have to do with the American Gentleman who may be there — I before mentioned it to you and now repeat it again that if any articles of agreement Should be proposed to the Indians by the americans which they or you do not clearly understand Such as Long conventions in writing, You should advise the Indians to ask Leave to Send a Copy of it on here before they give an answer . — It will be Necessary for the Indians with whom you go in the first council they hold to mention who you are, and for what purpose you are gone with them So as You may be distinguished from the numbers who are gone without being asked to Serve their own private Ends only. — I have only to add that in any mater of difficulty Send an Indian to me with an account of what has passed . —

MANUSCRIPTS AND RECORDS

FROM THE

BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION

VOLUME I

JANUARY, 1917.

NUMBER 2

(Continued from Number 1, Page 32)

The family are well and we all wish you Success and a Speedy return . —

Adieu

Dear John

yours

[Unsigned letter from John Askin, Sr.]

Detroit July 5 th 1795

John Askin Senior to

John Askin Junr.*

at Treaty Greenville

(copy)

The Original of this Letter

is said to have been

Delivered by Mr. McDougall†

to General Wayne‡

*John Askin jr. was sent as an interpreter for the Indians to Greenville.

†Probably George McDougall, son of Lieut. George McDougall and Marie Francoise Navarre. He held many prominent civil and military offices in Detroit, was popular with the French citizens and his services were greatly in demand by the farmers in the settlement of their land titles. He was born in 1766 and died about 1833. He inherited from his father a half interest in Hog Island (Belle Isle) in the Detroit River. He never married. (Mich. Pion. Colls. Vol. 36, pp. 210, 211.)

‡Gen. Anthony Wayne to whom the English surrendered Detroit and the surrounding region July 11, 1796.

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21/11/18

Vol. 3 Page 37.

John Askin, Jr., to Col. England

Sir

Detroit August 19th 1795

Being induced both from duty and inclination . I take the liberty of giving you an account of my Voyage to Fort Greenville, with what came to my knowledge while I resided there ; it will I fear be rather long , but lest the parts I might leave out would be those you wished to be acquainted with, I have thought it advisable to insert in it every thing that appeared to me any way material

It is as follows

Several Indian Chiefs of the Chippewa and Ottawa Nation with whom I was well acquainted urged me much to accompany them to the Council at Greenville , assigning for their reasons , that as the business They were going on was of great importance to them they stood in need of a faithfull Interpreter and friend.

After obtaining my Fathers concurrence I left this on the 2d of July and when I reached Fort Defiance it was the 11 th by this time the Indians with me were Twenty Seven in number also a Mr Beaubien and a Mr Bouffet who had joined the Indians on the route

I had a cool reception from Major Hunt* who commands there but of this I was aware before my departure Mr McDougal having taken the lead who declared he would make known to the Americans my conduct during the Troubles — from this First Fort I was inclined to return , Major Hunt finding if I did that the Indians would follow me, insisted on my proceeding .

Blue Jacket† an Indian Chief who had been sent to bring forward Indians to Council, joined us here and proceeded with us , this night being the 14th Mr McDougal overtook us it was the 19th before we reached Fort Adams the 20 th we got to Fort Recovery and the 21st to Fort Greenville , soon after our arrival a Major of Dragoons, said General Wayne wished to see us, we proceeded to the Council House which is situated in the Fort, here General Wayne received us and shook hands with all the Indians — Omissas a Chippewa Chief who had been chosen to speak for the Ottawas , Pattawattomies , & his nation , asked me for a few Strings of Wampum he had given me in charge & with them made the following Speech

Brothers We the Chippewas looking over our bundles found your Strings of Wampum that had been given us at Muskingum

*Major Thomas Hunt, father of Henry Jackson Hunt, mayor of Detroit in 1826. Thomas Hunt died at Belle Fontaine, Missouri, Aug. 18, 1809. (Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit. 1915. p. 209)

†Blue Jacket, principal warrior of the Shawanese.

and thought it time to come and see you at this great Council Fire General Wayne in return said

I am extremely happy to see you and more so to hear that you brought the Strings of Wampum gave you at Muskigum, You, Omissas spoke like an honest, Sensible, and good hearted man, and I take you again by the hand for your honesty —

Omissas to General Wayne

Brothers Should any one say that they advised us to come to this Council or say they brought us to this place, it's false we came of our own free will and have brought this English man (meaning me) with us to Repeat to us what you say in Council and that we may be instructed with every thing that will be said to us and not be so ignorant of this Council as we were of that of Muskingum

Blue Jackets Speech to General Wayne

Brothers I am extremely sorry that I have not been able to accomplish what I wished to have done owing to the numbers of bad birds who were continually whispering in my Chawanees Chiefs Ears, and have prevented them from coming sooner, however I have a bit of Tobacco from them and they sent me they would come immediately, but I cannot assure they will

General Waynes answer

Brothers I am sensible of the great Zeal and wish you have to serve the States and that you have done all in your power for them, I am well persuaded that you met great numbers of bad Birds who did all they could to prevent what you went about

July 22d — No Council

23 As I was going to the Council I was told by Mons Beaubien not to go, that the Centinel would stop me the Generals aid de Camp told him so, when I stop't the Indians stop't also & said they would not go but on my telling them it was all the same they could repeat to me at night what had passed they proceeded July 24 The Indians gave in their answer this day with a white belt of Wampum as follows

Brothers We know nothing of the Six Thousand Dollars said to have been given the Indians at Muskingum but as for the Windotts They perhaps know of these Dollars They were accustomed to hord up all they got on these occasions & never let others know of it — The Windotts were displeased & begged leave to give their answer next day

25 This day General Wayne Explained that the Six Thousand Dollars were given in goods Then the Chippawas were satisfied with the Windotts and said it was true they had received presents, but thought they were given them for having buried the Hatchet and not for Lands * *

26 The Miamis spoke and said their Grand Father had given them these lands and they were told not to sell them nor give them away and of course the Tribes who had given them at

Muskingum had no right to them , and several other words to the same purpose

27 The Indians were allowed to Speak among themselves —

28 I wrote to General Wayne for a Pass to Return home and Received for answer to call next day

July 29 Waited on General Wayne he delivered me a letter from Mr. Askin which he had opened & Shewed me another asking if I knew the hand writing I said I did it was my Father's he then proceeded to read its contents to me, after he had done reading , he said he looked upon me as a spy & that I deserved death, I told him that I knew of no Spies in time of Peace , he said it was true, but he still had the power of sending me to a Fort in the Woods, and immediately ordered a party of Light Horse to take me to Fort Jefferson , he likewise ordered my papers to be examined & an Officer took out of them two Indian Deeds of Land given me in charge by Gentlemen here which he said would be returned but as yet have not

The Commanding Officer at Fort Jefferson had orders not to let me speak to any one , but in his presence nor to write to any person Except the General , to do him justice he treated me with much civility

30th & 31st — In confinement

August 1 The Indians delivered a white Belt of Wampum, requesting I might be set at Liberty , the General gave for answer that I should in Two days however the 2d. 3d. 4th. 5th & 6th elapsed but on the 7th the General wrote me a note saying I was at Liberty & in it invited me to dine with him , on the 8th I got a pass and set off and the 15th arrived here

As I was not at any of the Councils but the first I can only Speak from the Reports of the Indians and others who informed me that untill I was some days in Confinement The Indians who went out with me would neither consent to Ratify the Muskingum Treaty nor give up their Claims to the disposal of their Lands , nor I am sure ever would had I not been confined and deprived of giving them advice, but being intimidated by the threats of the General saying he would drive them back into the Sea if They did not acquiesce in his demands and seeing the other Nations (from fear and persuasion of some of our Canadian & English Friends) Agree They at last did the same prior to my being released

The Treaty so far as I could learn was that They confirmed the Muskingum Treaty and added to it all the Lands situated on the South side of the Miamis River, They sold six miles square near where Fort Williams is situated Twelve miles Square at and about were to be given up and such small Spots about them as the English had purchased , & that They should have that matter cleared up, which they accordingly did next day and it was then

acknowledged to them that our Government had not given over their Lands

It was Reported at my Departure that very soon After a party of Americans were to come by Land to the Spott purchased up the River of Razin & take Post there likewise at Sundaskey to Build a Fort —

I am with Sin Respect

Sir

Your Most Obedient very Humble
Servant

Colonel England*
24 Regt.

[unsigned letter of John Askin jr.]

Commandant of Detroit & its Dependences

Endorsed: Detroit Augt. 19th, 1795

Jno. Askin Junr. to Colo England

a Report of his Voyage to Fort Greenville

(Copy)

Vol. 3 Page 186

Proclamation of General Wilkinson

Whom it may Concern

By the Treaty at Greenville concluded in August last by Major General Wayne on the part of the United States with all the Indian Tribes Resident South & East of the Lakes it is Stipulated that the Indians shall not alienate their Lands either by sale or Donation without the Consent of the United States It follows from this Stipulation that all Donations or Sales made Subsequent to the Said Treaty are Contrary to Compack and of course invalid I utter this Testimonial at the instance of a Potawatémie Chief Okia in order to save him & other chiefs the Importunities (to which he had assured me they are exposed) of ignorant or designing persons for grants of their Lands , Given at Greenville 31 May 1796

Witness my hand & seal

(Signed) JAMES WILKINSON†

Brig. General in the

Army of ye — United States

(Seal)

*Col. Richard England, commanding officer at Detroit from 1792 to the evacuation July 11, 1796.

†Brig. Gen. James Wilkinson accompanied Wayne's expedition to Detroit. Wayne left Wilkinson in charge of the forces of that place when he departed. In 1805 he was made governor of Louisiana. He was courtmartialled for trouble with Burr but acquitted. He was born in Maryland in 1757 and died near Mexico, Dec. 28, 1825.

Vol. 5 Page 245

Alexander Henry to John Askin

Montreal 9 th May 1799

Dear Askin

I received your favor of January am Happy to find your Health and Spirits are so good , for me my Health is not so good as usual, and I have Symptoms of old age advancing rapidly — so much that unless I see you this summer I am affraid I never will , but I have no reason to complain since on calculation since my time there has been Two Thousand Million buried a few years can make no difference if we can only approve of our conduct while here we need fear nothing hereafter — Hope and Reliance on Providence is all we can do — there is no fear of our being worse treat—than others — I seem to be more anxious to know whether you and I will ever meet there — than any thing else — our old friend Isaac Todd is going to Niagara and expects to meet you there — was it not for a voyage to New York which I must make I would go also was it only to see you I am informed the President has ordered a Council to be held at Detroit this to hear the Complaints of the Indians — but I think nothing will do — congress is selling the Lands on Lake Erie to the Westward of the N England Grant —

William Robinson is here busy nursing his child and taking care of his wife —

by Gentlemen who this day arrived from London in February bring account of Deer skin Sale . they did very well much the same as last — but bad appearance for Raccoons dont you send any here if Possible for they will sell badly — good Musrats will bring from 20 to 22 Sols — here — there is no account of other furs , if Raccoons sells badly . Detroit Trade must be injur'd and the N W Company on account of opposition it is said intends to send quantity of Goods to Detroit & Makinac to sell at cost & Charges , because Forsyth & Co interferes with their trade in the North , the War seems to have commenced between them , like the french Derectory they will not allow any kings but themselves —as for Politics , things , seem not to stand so favorable as they did at the close of the last year, the french has obliged the King of Naples to leave his Kingdom of which they have Possession Boanaparta still seems to have Possession of Egypt — and it is suposed the french will not stop untill they have taken all the continent of Europe , the Idea of Liberty and equality is still gaining ground — England is intending to make a Union with Ireland which will I suspect be a sad business before it is settled as the Irish is much against it, and even our friend Isaac disapproves of the English craming the Irish with what they dont like .

I am sorry I have nothing to amuse you farther my family is all well and joins in best wishes for yours —
dont forget my best respects to Mrs McKee* who I would be glad to see —

and remain while there is a spark remaining
your sincere friend

ALEXANDER HENRY†

John Askin Esquire at Detroit.

Vol. 912 Page 162

Jacob Burnet to Solomon Sibley

Cincinnati June 17th 1799

My dear Sir,

I have delayed writing you on the subject of the Writ of Error —Brook Vs Williams, on a supposition that I should have had the pleasure of seeing you in Detroit before now— but Judge Symmes, who undertook to ride that Circuit, finding it inconvenient to perform the duty, has found an apology for staying at home, in the supposed hostile designs of the Indians—I argued the error assigned for the reversal of the Judgment, and from the clearness of the Authorities, I had not a doubt of success—but Symmes observing that the Court ought to look more at the circumstances of the Case, than to the authorities in the Books, and observing that it would discourage the Court of Wayne County, if so many of the Judgments were reversed (a reason which ought to damm him to all eternity as a Judge,) ordered the Judgments to be affirmed—Symmes‡ at the same time said that there was no proof that the Voucher referred to in the Report, was not produced—I then moved that the opinion of the Court might be withheld, till proof of that fact could be obtained, but the Courts would not grant the motion, I then moved that Execution might be stayed as to the sum for which the Voucher was to have been produced—which they granted—and left the Judgment as to that sum subject to the futher Order of the Court—by this I think they are placed in an awkward situation—as it will be difficult for them to know how to proceed—

* * * * *

*Mrs. McKee, Therese, the oldest daughter of John Askin and Marie Archange Barthe and wife of Thomas McKee, a great favorite of Mr. Henry.

†Alexander Henry, the trader and adventurer who was at Michilimackinac at the time of the massacre of the garrison in 1763. His adventures are published in book form.

‡John Cleves Symmes (1742-1814), b. on Long Island; d. in Cincinnati; delegate from Delaware to Continental congress, 1785; 1786, judge of superior court of New Jersey; afterwards chief justice of New Jersey; 1787, appointed judge of Northwest territory; 1788, obtained grant of 1,000,000 acres from government, bounded on the south by Ohio river, and on the west by Miami river; founded Cincinnati; married daughter of Gov. William Livingston; his daughter, wife of William H. Harrison.

I have entered an apparence for Capt Ernest, and taken a rule on the Plef to declare in 90 days—if he files a Declaration. I intend to plead privilege, as a Judge of the Court of Com Pleas etc

Presents my Respects to my Friends, and believe me

Yours Sincerely
JAC BURNET*—

N B. The Defeat of the French
by the Austrians appears
to be confirmed—

Address:
Solomon Sibley Esqr†
Attorney at Law
Detroit

Endorsed on back:
J. Burnetts letter recd. 27th July 1799—
Ansd. this letter July 28th 1799—

Vol. 912 Page 174

Solomon Sibley to James May

Detroit Augt. 28th. 1799—

To James May Esq.

Sir—

I have just Recd. your note of the 27th. Instant, notifing me of your intentions to take depositions relative to the contested Elections between us—& that you should attend to the same at the house of Mr. Dodemeads, the last week of the setting of the Court—The business in which I am engaged during the Setting of the Court, renders it rather inconvenient for me to attend at that time—However I will willingly reverse that objection for the purpose of obliging you—You will see Sir, if you take the trouble to examine the resolve of the House, (a copy of which I enclose you in a letter soon after I arrived from Cincinnati) that

*Jacob Burnet (1770-1853), b. in Newark, N. J.; d. in Cincinnati, O.; 1791, graduated at Princeton; 1796, admitted to bar; 1796, came to new settlement, Cincinnati, O.; member of legislative council of territory, 1799—until it became state; 1812, member of state legislature; 1821-8, judge of supreme of Ohio; 1828-31, U. S. senator; first president of Colonization society of Cincinnati; instrumental in bringing about legislation to alleviate financial distress of purchasers of western lands, indebted to the government; drew up memorial to congress, proposing release of back interest and permission to settlers to relinquish as much of land entered as they were unable to pay for. Memorial approved by inhabitants of Ohio and Mississippi valleys and congress granted relief, 1821; published, 1847, "Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwest Territory."

†Solomon Sibley (1769-1846) came to Detroit, Mich., in 1798 with the intention of practicing law. He held many important positions, was mayor of the city, auditor of the territory, delegate to congress and judge. Many of his descendants are still living in Detroit.

certain persons therein named are appointed Commissioners, before whom the depositions are, to be taken, in order to entitle them to credit before the house—Neither the Court nor any other person except the Commissioners have such power—It will be necessary for you if you have not a day & place, when & where, they will attend for the purpose—Their convenience & pleasure as the subject must be known, previous to a regular notification—I make these remarks, in consequence of having this day applied to Capt Ernst President of the Commission, to know if application have been made to him, by you on the Subject—Capt Ernst informed me you have not spoken to him relative to the Business—

The moment the Commissioners appoint the day & place, I shall be ready to receive your notification—& shall myself immediately notify you to attend to hear the evidence I intend to take on my part—Ten days notice thereof in writing necessary by the resolve—I propose to leave this place for Cincinnati, immediately after the Court rises—The Session of the assembly Opening at Cincinnati on the 20 of September, renders a further delay impossible—

I am Sir your very humble Servant
SOL. SIBLEY

Copy of a letter

Written J May*

Augst. 28th 1799

relating to the contested election enclosing his note to me

Vol. 912 Page 161

William Brown to Solomon Sibley

D'Eetroit Nov. 24th 1799

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 22nd Oct. was handed me by Mr. Schuffelint ten Days Since, the Papers you mentioned of having Sent Col. Strong† have not yet arrived; the loss of which in anticipation is

*James May was marshal of the territory, justice of peace, colonel of militia, first chief justice of the court of common pleas and held many other important positions at Detroit. He came from England in 1778 aged 22 years. On Sept. 30, 1797 he married Margaret Labadie. At the time of the fire in Detroit (1805) his losses were inventoried at \$1,000. After the fire he collected all the stones which composed the chimneys of the old town and built a house which in 1836 was used as a hotel, the Mansion House on Jefferson Ave. He was a very large man, weighing 340 lbs. His eighth child, Augusta Caroline, married Alexander D. Frazer of Detroit. Mr. May died Jan. 19, 1829, aged 73 yrs. (Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit. 1915.)

†Jacob Schieffelin was born in Philadelphia in 1757. He was secretary on Hamilton's staff at Detroit during the Revolution. In 1783 he with other Loyalists went to Canada where he engaged in business as a merchant at Montreal. In 1794 he bought out the drug business of his brother-in-law in New York and took John B. Lawrence, another brother-in-law into partnership.

‡Col. David Strong served in the Revolution and in Wayne's army. He died Aug. 19, 1801.

very considerable, No doubt they contain some of the laws by which we may consider ourselves in future to be governed, we have scarce learnt any subject mater of your deliberations 'tho frequently hear of your having multiplicity of business before your honourable body—you boast of a number of good Men among them the small number that compose your Honourable house May heaven grant you may all be wise during so important a Period—I doubt not of your finding the Task of Legislating in some degree as difficult as that of putting the laws in execution—All are looking to you as to wise Men for all that is Possible to be received, and for more than can be given. your own wisdom and prudence, will best guard you against the shafts of those that would be willing to injure you.—Was sorry to hear in yours that Mr. Visgar† was in so desperate an act as that of *Vomiting* am flattered of his having been convalescent long before this time, and inabled to render his country & Constitutents an essential Service—I shall attend with Pleasure to your Property in my care as you have or may Derict—Think Mr. Fruman must have appeared some what natural as he was in his *old Trim*.—

Politicks have remained in Statuquo as relates to Civil & Military affairs untill of late, when the Subject of Danceing was brot up Party arose with redoubled Vigour more general if possible than what it has been heretofore, the prospect at present appears still more gloomy as to the appearance of the Civil and Military being united than it was since my arrival in this place—

The Gentlemen of D'Etroit say Citizens & B. Subjects united invited the Military Gentleman to a Ball Believing they would have universally joined us but so pointedly were their resolutions that not a single Person who wears the colour of a Faceing made their appearance but some were so active as to persuade the ladies instance Miss Fearsons* not to come Others as I am informed offerd. to bribe the Music to no effect—Huntington was one of the Managers feels himself not well pleased at this singular proceedings—the ball was conducted with much propriety—Accompanied with the kind Auspicious of an excellent supper & Excellent Wine an agreeable Company tho not numerous

The Gentleman of the Garrison have now a ball a brewing the particulars of which would tire your patience to read & more so mine to write—

†Jacob Visger came from Schnectady, N. Y., in 1788 and married Agatha Cicotte in 1792. His Dutch name was probably Visscher. He was justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1801, member of the Grand Jury that investigated Gov. Hull in 1809 and justice of peace in 1821. He died in April 1823 and on June 9th the same year his son Joseph was appointed guardian of Agatha, widow of Jacob. Their son Joseph was born in 1794 and married Ann Godroy in 1819. Their daughter Catherine was born in 1795 and married Whitmore Knaggs in 1819. C. M. B.

*The Misses Fearson were daughters of Capt. John Fearson, who came to Detroit from Salem, Mass. in 1793. Capt. Fearson was born in England. (Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit.)

We little expect your return soon as you mentioned believing the affairs of the Territory to necessarily detain you a much longer time—

I have a copy of the Governors Speech to the Indians which I believe does not rellish too well with some of our *Folks*—Be good enough to drop us a line every opportunity of what is going on in your grand Counsell & oblige your Friend

W BROWN†

P.S.

Hear but little of Law, Mr. Richd. Conner‡ wishes to retain you in an action against Messers Wiswell & Clemmons on acct. of Lands near the Distillery—Says he will give you a Fee as soon as you return or at any time after, will give you a round one—have not enquired any of the particulars but suppose it a Yankee Trick—believe the Lean Bond or paper without a Stamp

—One Colo. & three Captains have come to this part from Mackina with a few men

The report is that A—is Displaced & that the French Judges have Resigned the Commissioners do not know what we will do for a Court

By same the Court will be opened and adjourd Sina Dia—Vessels which have been at fort Erie for more than six weeks are hourly expected—Huntington sends his Compliments says he has written you but recd no answers—for the want of place in this must close this long epistle by wishing you success in getting a wife not with standing your sad Disappointment

am Dear Sir your Obt.

Humble Servt

WM BROWN

N B

My respects to Mr. Visger

Addressed:

Solomon Sibley Esquire

in assembly
Cincinnati

pr Mr. Simpson

†William Brown was born in Massachusetts in 1773 and came to Detroit in 1798, where he practiced medicine and cared for the Indians in the vicinity for many years free of charge. He held many important positions in the town. At the time of the fire (1805) he lost heavily. He lived for a while on the corner where the present Hotel Pontchartrain stands. He never married. (Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit.)

‡Richard Connor was an Indian trader and interpreter. He came to Detroit with the Moravians in 1781 and settled on lands belonging to the Chippewas at the site of Mount Clemens. When the Moravians left that place Richard Connor and his family remained and took some of the lands. C. M. B.

Vol. 912 Page 177.

Jacob Visger to Solomon Sibley

Detroit 14th Januy 1800

Sir,

I have wrote you a long letter but am apprehensive not so explicit as I would wish it to be, I returned from the River Reasin last Evening—Unfortunately Judge Navarre* is unwell of the Rumitism, it is out of his power to persue his voyage to Cincinnati Agreeable to the conversation passed between us when at Cincinnati concerning the appointments of Militia Officers, (immediately upon my arrival at this place) I requested the attendance of the principle Officers of the Militia, and other respectable Free holders and pointed out to them the necessity of Recommending Persons eligible to fill the promotions in the Militia of this Country

They have Recommend to his Exelly the following Persons to Wit Lieutenant Colonal Chabert Joncair**, as "Brigadier General"—Major Jean Bt. Cicot† Lieutenant Colonal Commandant Johnathan Schuffelin Esq Inspector & Brigade Major Captain Gabriel Godfrey‡ 1st Major Captain Navare 2nd Major or in case Captain Navare would decline to Recommend Mr. McDougall Mr Navare has desired me to mention to you that he would rather if agreeable to the Governor that McDougall should be appointed I hope you will use your influence to get the above appointments confirmed, and in so doing You will oblige Your friends and the Citizens of this place,

I am Sir Your Very humble
Servant

JACOB VISGER

Addressed:

Solomon Sibley Esquire
per Kelly Cincinnati

*Probably Jean Marie Alexis Navarre, son of Robert Navarre the Royal Notary at Detroit during its French occupation.

**Francois Joncaire dit Chabert, born in 1757, married at Detroit in 1780 to Marie Josette Chene. He died on Nov. 24, 1813.

†The Cicot (Cicotte) family was one of the oldest in Detroit. The founder Jean came to Detroit in 1730 as a merchant. The Godfroy farm was once owned by the Cicottes. As a family they figured prominently in the development of the town. Jean Bt. Cicot later moved to Monroe Co. where he was sheriff in 1824. In 1825 he was a candidate for the Legislative Council, nominated for associate justice in 1826 and died before Feb. 9, 1833. (C. M. B.)

‡Capt. Gabriel Jacques Godfroy was born Nov. 10, 1785, and died Aug. 31, 1833. He was one of the signers of the Round Robin to depose Gen. Hull as governor at Detroit. Cass appointed him one of the paymasters for the Indians for which he was allowed \$2.00 a day. He was Indian agent, interpreter, fur trader, merchant and occasionally acted as guide to remote parts such as Chicago. He lost heavily at the fire in Detroit (1805). In 1815 he was living on the north east corner of Woodward Ave. and Woodbridge St. The house was removed to the foot of Griswold street in 1833-4. (Mich. Pioneer Colls. Vol. 37, pp. 360 448, 453)

Vol. 9 Page 136.

Gen. W. Johnson to John Askin

Vincennes January 19th 1801

Sir

I was favoured with yours of the 19th of September last on the evening of the 22nd. of December Ult. by my Wife.

The manner and situation in which I received the Letter Which I have just alluded to, is Somewhat Cruel, and must be shocking to the most vulgar *ear*, when informed of the Circumstances—

You will pardon the liberty which I shall now take of giving you a few Proofs of the Vilanous and degraded character of the same Mr. McIntosh, who you have employed to Settle your Affairs in this Country, without I am Well persuaded, of having any, or a very trifling acquaintance With his character, and but little with his person.

Your favor above alluded to Was directed to me, pr. Mons. Hunoth† Who on his arrival to this place, not being personally acquainted with me handed my Letter to Mr. McIntosh, who immediately opened it and read it, as he afterwards acknowledged to my Wife, on his handing her the Letter, alledging as a petiful excuse, that he *thought* the Letter was directed to him—

Christ God! Can it be supposed by any person possessed of a Common understanding, that a person of Mr. McIntosh's Information could possibly be mistaken in the superscription of a Letter, and one too so legible as that which you intended I should be favored With.

No my Dear Friend, the truth is, that Mr McIntosh on this Occasion, as well as many others, forgetting that respect which was due you, not only as a Gentelman, but from the Confidence and Trust which you had reposed in him, and being guided by the most degraded Principles of Jealousy for fear, that you had Wrote to me, something concerning him & your affairs in this Country—which might in some measure be burthensome to his designs, under a full persuasion that every man was possessed with the same, or similar Principle of degradation, Which he himself is possessed of—This I am well persuaded my Dr Sir, Was his Motive, for breaking open the Seal of your Letter :

I am truly obliged to you for your Friendly offer, of raising me in some measure, above the Caprice of my Friends, & the Spleen

†Gabriel Hunoth (Hunot) was early employed as victualer for the Miami Company and stationed on the Huron River.

of my enemies; for which I shall ever conceive myself under due Obligation to your good intention. But Sir, the business which you allude to, in your Letter Was immediately on the arrival of Mr. Mc. Intosh, Put by him into the hands of a Mr Hurst of this place.

I am
Sir Your mo. Obt.
Hub. Servt.
GEN W JOHNSON*.

John Askin E/.
Recd. ye: 11th Feb. 1801
Addressed:
John Askin Esquire
Merchant
Detroit.
P. favr. of
Mr Druard.
Endorsed on back:
Post Vincent Jan. 19th 1801
General W Johnston to Jno. Askin
Feb. 11th.†

*Gen. W. Johnson was a native of Culpepper Co., Va. He located in Vincennes in 1783; was a prominent member of the bar; filled many offices of trust and was twice president judge of Knox Circuit Court. He died Oct. 26, 1833.

(†*Editor's Note.*—The foregoing manuscripts are all copied from originals in the Burton Historical Collection. They are selected for the purpose of giving the reader a partial idea of the scope of the collection. Many of the manuscripts are mounted and fill over 1200 volumes of 250 pages each. The papers have been collected from several sources and divided into groups signifying their origin, as the Askin papers, the Woodbridge papers, the Williams papers, the Sibley papers, etc. Besides the papers there are journals, account books, registers, and letter books, which will be printed in time.)

A REVOLUTIONARY HEROINE

Photostats—Files of House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Petition Deborah Gannett*

12th Feby. 1810.

Refd. to the Committee on the petition
of Thomas Campbell

27 March 1810

Reported on and rejected

To the Honourable, the Senate, and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress Assembled:—

The Petition of the Subscriber humbly shews that, whereas she having served as a Continental Soldier in the Army of the United States, during three years, in the late American Revolution, and there borne on the rolls by the name of, *Robert Shirliff* and at the conclusion of the Peace in 1783, was regularly discharged from said army she having faithfully preformed the duties of a soldier—and that, during that time of service for her Country, She received *Wounds*, by which she has been disabled from performing the common occupations of life, as other wise She might have done,—and that, in consequence thereof, She has been placed on the Pension List by the Commissioner of loans and Agent for Pensions in the State of Massachusetts, from January 1803 Your Petitioner, therefore, prays, that these honorable Bodies with duty consider this subject together with the concomitant circumstances, to which She alludes, and that She may be entitled to the further

*Deborah Gannett, before her marriage, Deborah Sampson, was born at Plymouth, Mass. Dec. 17, 1760 and died at Sharon, Mass. April 29, 1827. She served in the Revolution as claimed in the petition. She was wounded in a skirmish at Tarrytown. During Yorktown Campaign she was seized with brain fever, was taken to a hospital at Philadelphia and it was at that time that her identity was discovered. In 1797 she published a narrative of her life in the army under the title "The Female Review" Dedham 1797. A new edition was published in Boston in 1866. She married Benjamin Gannett April 7, 1785 at Stoughton, Mass. In 1802 she made a tour through Massachusetts and New York giving a lecture on her experiences. (Sharon Historical Society 1905)

consideration of having her pension-pay commenced at the time of other pensions belonging to the said American Army, as the law has made and provided.—

And your Petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray.—

Signed Deborah Gannett

Sharon, Dec. 15 1809.

Mr. Milnor

Report of the Committee to whom
was referred on the 12th ult the pe-
tition of Deborah Gannett — alias
Robert Shirtliff.

27th March 1810
Concurred in, and petition rejected

The committee to whom was referred the petition of Deborah Gannett report, That the petitioner states that she served three years as a soldier in the army in the revolutionary war under the name of Robert Shirtliff—that in the course of said service she was wounded & in consideration thereof she was placed upon the pension list in the year 1803. The petitioner prays that she may be allowed a sum equal to her pension from the conclusion of the war up to the time when she was placed on the pension list. The committee believes it to have been an established principle for some years past only to allow pensions to commence from the time when proof of the disability of the party has been exhibited, & that this house has in repeated instances of individual application for back pensions adhered to this principal. The Committee have not thought it necessary to enter into an inquiry respecting the justice or policy of this general regulation, in as much as the House have not directed their attention to such inquiry, but they have no hesitation in giving it as their opinion, that if any thing is to be done for the payment of back pensions, it should be a general & not a partial measure. Under this impression your committee submit the following resolution.

Resolved that the prayer of the petitioner ought not to be granted.

PAUL REVERE* AND TARIFF ON COPPER

Photostats—Files of House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Petition of Paul and Joseph W. Revere, of Boston, in the State of Massachusetts

24th February, 1807.

Ordered to lie on the table.

2d November 1807

referred to Commerce & Manufactures.

21st. January, 1808

Report made, considered, and Bill ordered.

2nd Session 12 Congress 1812

Petitions of Paul & Joseph W Revere
and John R Levingston. praying for
a imposition of a duty on Copper
bolts—Copper Sheathing & etc

The Clerk is requested to have recorded in the record books of
the Committee of Com. & Manufactures two letters on

Quincey

(to lie)

Com & m

*Paul Revere of Revolutionary fame and his son Joseph Warren Revere were among the first in the United States to apply themselves to the manufacture of metal things. At an early date they made bells, cannon and bolts, etc., needed in the building and equipping of ships for the navy. They invented a process of treating copper that enabled them to hammer and roll it when heated, thus greatly facilitating the manufacture of bolts and spikes. The most important achievement of Joseph was that of rolling copper into large sheets. Joseph Warren Revere established the first copper rolling mill in the country and founded the Revere Copper Co. which was incorporated in 1828. Paul Revere was born in Boston Jan. 1, 1735 and died there May 10, 1818. His son Joseph Warren was born April 30, 1777 and died at Canton Oct. 11, 1868 aged 92 years.

To the Honourable Senate and the Honourable Hous of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled

The petition of the subscribers, Citizens of Boston, Massachusetts.

Humbly sheweth.

That by dint of close application and great expence they have attained to the knowledge of smelting and refining Copper Ores; and manufactureing of Copper into Sheets, Bolts, Spikes, Nails etc for fastning Ships; a Specimens of which were deposited in the Office of the Secretary of the Navy, in the year 1802.

That to assist their experiments and Study's in the Manufactureing of Copper, they have visited the Copper Mines in Sweden, and England, France, Holland and

That at a very great expense they have erected Furnaces, Mills, and other Works for manufactureing the above articles; that they believe they are the only persons in the United States that have accomplished this object, 'tho many have attempted it.—That by ambiguity in the Revenue Law Copper in sheets is admitted Free by some of the Collectors, 'tho *all* Manufactures of Copper are charged with a duty of 17 1/2 P Ct.

The Law says, Copper in Plates, Pigs, & Barrs, are Free this without doubt was intended to include Copper in a Raw State only; Yet the Collectors admit, manufactured Sheets Free; but charge a duty on the same article, if it has been taken from a Vessells bottom out of the United States after it is worn out.

Your petitioners have no doubt that they can supply the whole quantity at present imported into the United States, provided Government gives them their Support.

We there fore pray that your Honours will cause the same duty to be imposed on Copper Manufactured into Sheets, as, upon other Copper Manufactures.—And that *all* Old Copper imported into the United States (which is a Raw Material) shall be free from duty.

And as in duty Bound will allways pray

Paul Revere
Joseph W Revere

Boston Feby. 12 1807

**Petition of Paul & Joseph W. Revere
Copper Smiths of Boston.**

27 Decemr. 1810
to the Committee of Commerce and
Manufactures.

30th Decemr. 1811.
Refd to the comee. of Commerce &
manufrs.

Plates bars & bolts of Copper prays
that a duty of 17 1/2 per. Cent may
be laid

6 February, 1813.
Refd to the Comee of Commerce and
Manufactures:

Mr Bigham
rep commerce
Mr Quiney
rep Commerce & M

To The Honourable Senate and House of Representatives of the
United States in Congress Assembled.

The Petition of the subscribers Citizens of Boston in the Com-
mon Wealth of Massachusetts.

Humbly Sheweth—

That when the revenue laws regulating the duties on Copper
was made. No Vessels was fastened on their bottoms sheathed
with Copper *Neither* was it then known copper *could be manu-
factured* into suitable State to fasten Ships—

That it has since become an article of immense amount in our
Imports. and owing to the ambiguity of the Law. The Govern-
ment have been deprived of great Revenue. the Law saying Cop-
per in *Plates, Pigs & Bars* free. Copper manufactured a Duty of
17 & 1/2 P Cent—

That under the names of Plates. & Bars. Copper Bolts and
sheathing have been admitted free as a Raw material Whereas
both are fully manufactured and should be subject to the duty
imposed on Copper Manufactures.

That your Petitioners by close application and great expence
(Having visited the Copper mines in England, Wales & Sweden

and the Manufactureings of Copper in England, Sweden Holland and France.) have attained the Knowledge of Smelting Copper Ores, Melting Refining and Manufactureing of Copper.

That they have erected furnaces, Mills and other works for the manufactureing *Bolts, Spikes Nails* and Sheathing, Copper.

That when your petitioner erected these works (which was done at the particular Request of the Govt of the United States who advanced in the Year 1802, ten thousand dollars to compleat them) A duty was collected on Copper Bolts by all Collectors and on Sheathing by some—

But by a late decision of the Supreme Court of the United States Bolts have been admitted free.

That since that decision more Bolts have been imported than all that was ever imported before the imported not being able to undersell while the duty was Collected.

That your petitioners have manufactured in one year nearly 200000ths of Bolts and if the demand was equal to it they could with there present establishment manufacture three times the quantity.

That when they Petitioned your Honourable Body in the year 1807. It was not the wish of your petitioners to have a duty on *Plates. Bottoms* & etc etc for Copper-Smiths Use. But on sheathing which is fully manufactured and which goes to the ship wright in the Case which it is imported in. They therefore Pray that your Honours would take this into your consideration and cause the same duty to be collected from Copper Bolts and sheathing Copper as from other Copper Manufactures.

And as in duty bound will ever Pray.

Paul Revere
Joseph. W. Revere

Boston 10 December 1810

RECORD OF MARRIAGES IN MARYLAND AND DELAWARE 1789-1804 BY GEORGE MOORE

From Original in Burton Historical Collection.

List of Marriages by Licence in the State of Maryland in the Yeare 1789 by Me George Moore

July 9th was Married William Grace and Elisabeth Moore
Jams Haley and Mary Robinett was Married October 12th
1789

Samuel Penington and Sarah Etherington was Married November 5th. 1789

Nicholas George Manliy and Millicent Kinkiy was Married December 23rd. 1789

John Kirk and Sarah Roberts was Married December 27th. 1789

John Clayton and Isabella Simmonds was Married January the Twenty Sixth. 1790

Jams Manly and Lydia Liason was Married March the thirteenth 1790

Thomas Hewett and Mary Shawn was Married March the Twenty Eight 1790

Charles Shahawn and Mary Vansant was Married April the first 1790

John Manly and Susannah Cox was Married April the Fifteenth 1790

Thomas Walmsley and Rebecca Jams was Married April, the Twenty Second 1790

John Duffoy and Martha Hance was Married August the Nineteenth 1790

Simon Pryor Jons and Sarah Galloway Thrift was Married August the Nineteenth 1790

William McDowell and Jean Dougherty was August the Twenty fourth 1790

Hugh Young and Elenor Durham was Married December the Twenty third 1790 Harford County

Elijah Eliason and Tobitha Bristow was Married December the Thirtieth 1790

William Miers and Jerusha Falconar was Married August the Eighteenth 1791

John Tompson and Catherin Homer was Married October Eighteenth 1791

Moses Toenir and Elizabeth Cohee was Married October Twentiy Ninth 1791

Tarbutt Jackson and Mary Rogers was Married January y. 29th 1792

John Roggester and Sarah George was Married february the fourth 1792

Joseph Oliver and Rainey Gibbs was Married february the Twenty sixth 1792

Ephraim Cooper and Mary Sartain was married the Fifth Day of May in the Year Seventeen Hundred and Ninety Two

John Beard and Rachel Mansfield was married the fifth Day of June in the Year of Our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and Ninety two

James Fletcher and Comfort Messeck was married January the eleventh 1793

William Hackett and Cornelia Pennington was Married October the Twelfth. Day 1793

Abraham Comegys and Ann Smith was married the Tenth Day of December 1793

Hance Severson and Rebecca Price was married the Twelfth Day of December 1793

John Gears and Sarah Husler was married the Nineteenth Day of December in the Year 1793

William Thompson and Hosanna Penington was married the Twenty Sixth of December 1794

William Logue and Ann Smith was married January ye 1st 1795

Richard Rochester and Rebecca Pratt was married the first Day of January 1795

Lambert Sappington and Mary Wilson was married January the fifteenth 1795

Benjamin Elliott and Margaret Crouch was married the twenty Sixth Day of January 1795

Nathaniel Colder (Colver) and Sarah Spearman was married the first Day February 1795

Thomas Crouch and Mary Sewell was married the Twenty fifth Day of June 1795

Peregrine Glenn and Mary Ann Briscoe was married the Twenty Sixth Day of June 1795

Thomas Farmer and Rachel Lasley was married the Ninth Day of September 1795

Archabald McNeal and Frances Allen was married September the Twelfth Day 1795

William McDaniel and Milecent Cornelius was married the twenty fourth Day of September 1795

William Davidson and Ann Jury was married the twenty Second Day of October Seventeen hundred and Ninety five Returned

John Taylor and Sarah Gay was married the fourteenth Day of February 1796

Richard Barniby and Mary Allen was married the Twelfth Day of July 1796

William Brown and Elizbeth Etherington was married the twenty Eight Day of July 1796

Rudolph Gonee and Elisabeth Heaver (Header) was married the Twenty Seventh D of October 1796 Returned

Joseph Jarvis and Elizabeth Barnaby was married the tenth Day of December 1796

William White and Ann Redgrove was married the Eight Day of January 1797

John Davis and Sarah Vansant was married the Twenty third Day of february 1797

Joseph Penington and Ann Penington was married the Second Day of March 1797

William Duyer and Elizabet Briscoe was Married the Eleventh Day of May 1797

Joseph Reed and Elixabeth Hurtt was married August the Thirtieth Day 1797

returned this list

William Smith and Ann Haward was married the twentyeth. Day of March 1798

Joseph Ozier and Elizabth Stuart was married May y first 1798

Joshua Vansant and Ann Davis was married the Tenth Day of May 1798

Ebenezer Eliason and Rebecca Carnan was married June the Twelfth 1798

William Horney and Nelly McCarty was married the Twenty Second Day of September 1798 returned this list

Gilbert Christfield and Mary Redgrave was married January the Sixth Day 1799

Jams Conner and Elizabeth Campbell was married the thirteenth Day of January 1799

Aquilla Meekes and Ann Cannell was married March the Seventeenth 1799

Nathaniel Sappington and Hannah Meeks was married May the Twenty Sixth 1799

John Mahannah and Elizabeth Lasly was married the twentieth Day of July 1799

Darius Copper and Mary Watts was married the twentifouth Day of November 1799

William Davis and Elizabeth Cherrington was married ninth Day of December 1799

Jeremiah Hinton and Rebecca Melson was married the Twentieth Day of December 1799

John Reed and Elizabeth Jeffers was married the Eighteenth Day of March 1800

Christopher Ruth and Elizabeth Miers was married the Eight Day of April 1800

William Kendall and Rebecca Johnson was married the Twentieth Seventh Day of May 1800

Caleb Kerbey and Maria Sharpless was Married August the Thirtifirst 1800

John Hines and Susan Russel was married September the Twenty fourth 1800

John Watts and Elizabeth Ricketts was married November y 30th 1800

John McFeely and Elizabeth Bateman was married December the Twenty Eight 1800

Robert Boyles and Elizabeth Hammon was married January the Ninth 1801

Benjamin Howard and Rahel Greenwood was married February the fifth 1801

George Way and Ann Tuttle was married March the Nineth 1801

Francis Mussey and Milcha Ussleton was married May the Eleventh 1801

William Pope and Elizabeth Hopkins was married November the Ninth 1801

John Stavely and Elisabeth Rayner was married January the the Twenty Six 1802

Jams Grant and Catharine Reading was married January the Thirti first 1802

Edward Hines and Elizabeth Copper was married the Thirtieth Day of December 1802

John Dawney and Marea Duyer was married the fifth Day of January 1804

Caleb Read and Polly Greenwood was married the Twelfth Day of February 1804

Theophilus Russel and Ann Tittle was married the first Day of April 1804

Joseph Harper and Martha Meeks was married the Thirtieth Day August 1804

Labert W. Spencer and Ann Spencer was married the Thirtieth Day September 1804

John Harmon and Arimanta Eliason was married the twentieth Second Day of march 1810

John Dill and Hanny Dill was married June the first Day 1804

**List of Marrges by Publication in the Delaware State in the
Yeare 1789**

by me George Moore May y 3nd Peter Ritch and Rodey Hardinigh.

John Herrington and Hannah Marshel was Married february the Seventh 1791 York County State of Pennsylvania

Jesse Fowler and Lucretia McCrackin was married Delaware State Sussex County December the Twentieth 1792

**List of Marrages by License in the State Dellaware,
in the Year 1788 by Me George Moore**

November 2nd Ambroius Hainsley and Ann Herrington

William Clark and Mary Mears was married March y fifth One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Nine

Benjamin Robards and Nessa Rothwell was Married October 8th 1789

William Kelley and Jane Ray was Married January the Sixteenth 1790

Benjamin Griffith and Mary Moore was Married January the twenty Sixth 1790

Robard Gutrey and Rachel Biddel was Married february the twenty Second 1790

William Pollard and Ann Egleson was Married the Eighteenth Day of June 1790

Robert Appleton and Line Read was Married the Sixteenth Day of September 1790

John Wright and Maacha Low was Married february the Sixth 1791 York County State of Pennsylvania

John Carnan and Rebecca Hynson was married the thirteenth Day of December 1798

William Bolton and Mary Darling was married November the Thirtieth 1802

(The Following Items Are in the Same Book But Are in Another Handwriting)

William Watson & Catharine Riley was Married the 21 October 1811

William Watson Died October the 28 1815 Aged 34

Mary Jane Watson was born May 19th 1813

William George Watson was Born March the 25 1815

Catherine Watson died September 23 1870

DOCUMENTS ON EARLY INDIANA HISTORY

Genl. Hamtramck* U. S. A. 1792

From Original in Burton Historical Collection, Vol. 457, Page 201.

Fort Knox† Post Vincennes
Jany. 4th. 1792.

Dear General,

I have been sent by Governor St Clair‡ to this place where I arrived on the 21 of Decembr. I found the Indians of the Wabash in a very pacific State and a number of their Chiefs were at the Fort. they informed me of their great intention of making a Solid peace with the United States, and also expressed their fear from Kentuck. I told them that if they were sincere I had no doubt but the United States would grant them peace and that until Government was informed of their intention they Should be under the protection of the United States. I appointed from terre Haute which is twenty leagues above the Fort to the Mouth of the Wabash for their hunting ground—I have thought necessary to inform you of those circumstances to enable you to prevent any unlawful expedition, & should their be any to be Carry on against those people I have informed the Secretary at War and the Governor of the Disposition of the Indians and Suppose that some thing will be Done—I am informed that the Indians who defeated the army§ were 1500 Strong that it was on a Branch of the Wabash and about three days march from the Miamie let me my Dear Sir offer you the Compliments of the Season may you have many years and them in happiness—I have the honour to be Sir with very great Respect and esteem your most obedient and very humble Servant

J. F. HAMTRAMCK

*John Francis Hamtramck was a native of Quebec. His father migrated from Luxembourg to Canada in 1749 and there married Marie Anne Bertin. John Francis was born Aug. 14, 1754, embraced the American cause and in 1776 joined Montgomery's army at the siege of Quebec. He was appointed captain of U. S. Infantry in 1785 and major next year. He was stationed at Cincinnati in 1789, was with Wayne in 1794 and came to Detroit with him in 1796. He was in command of Detroit until his death April 11, 1803. He is buried in Mt. Elliott Cemetery, Detroit. He left no will. William Henry Harrison and John Rice Jones were two of the administrators of his estate.

†Fort Knox was built at Vincennes in 1788.

‡Arthur St. Clair was appointed governor of the North West Territory upon its formation in 1789. He held the office until 1802. He was commander-in-chief of the army operating against the Indians in 1791 and was surprised and defeated on Nov. 4th. of that year.

§Among these Indians were Little Turtle, and Blue Jacket. Simon Girty was also there. The army suffered a loss of 37 officers and 593 privates killed and missing and 31 officers and 252 privates wounded. Among the officers killed were Maj. Gen. Richard Butler and Col. Gibson who died of his wounds. The brutal killing of Butler is described in the "History of the Girtys" page 263. An interesting collection of papers was found on the body of Butler and remained in the possession of the Indians for 115 years when through a sale they came into the possession of C. M. Burton. They are printed in the "Magazine of History with notes and queries" Vol. V, page 344.

William H. Harrison to William McIntosh

From Original in Burton Historical Collection, Vol. 9, Page 192.

Greenfield Kentucky
3rd April 1801.

Dear Sir

I am informed by Judge Griffin* that the land which I bought of Vigo† was included in the Mortgage given to his Creditors at Detroit—if so I must ask the favor of you to get these gentlemen to release the Mortgage on Condition of my securing the purchase money to them—This I will do—& pay it in two equal annual payments Viz one half on the 1st of Jany next & the ballance the ensuing Jany. (1803) this will certainly be favorable for them as there is no chance of their getting the money from Vigo—but by foreclosing the Mortgage or in this way—I wish you could get Authority from this Company to release any other land which I may purchase from Vigo—& the payments of which to be made to them—

I shall set out for Vincennes in a few days where I hope to see you soon—

I am with great Regard
Your Humb Servt.

Willm H. Harrison‡

Willm McIntosh§ Esq.

[Endorsed on back of letter in Mr. McIntosh's hand writing:]

Write to my Brot. to send me power to release on acct. of the Co. such lands as Vigo has sold now which may encourage the Govt. to buy more.

*Judge John Griffin was one of the Federal judges appointed when Indiana Territory was organized. He was appointed judge in Michigan Territory when it was formed in 1805. He was a native of Virginia and son of Cyrus Griffin, last president of the Continental Congress. He left Detroit in 1824 and went to Philadelphia where he died about 1840. (Governor and Judges' Records—Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit, Detroit 1915, page 151.)

†Col. Francis Vigo was a native of Sardinia, born about 1747. He came to New Orleans as a Spanish soldier but soon left military service and locating at an Indian village on the site of the present City of St. Louis, became a successful Indian trader. After Gen. Clark captured Vincennes Col. Vigo went there to take up a land grant and remained there until his death in 1836. He was successful for a time and became a large land owner. He however lost everything and at the time of his death was an object of charity. See the "Hundred Year Land Suit" in Western Reserve pamphlets.

‡William Henry Harrison, third son of Benjamin Harrison, signer of the Declaration of Independence, ninth president of the United States was born in 1773 and died in 1841. He began the study of medicine but was so aroused by accounts of the Indian outrages that he gave up his studies and entered the army. In 1792 he joined Wayne and fought against the Indians until 1798 when peace was made. In that year he served as secretary of the Northwest Territory and in 1799 was territorily delegate to Congress. In 1802 he was appointed governor of Indiana Territory and superintendent of Indian affairs. In the war of 1812 he won a decisive victory over the English at the Battle of the Thames. He died one month after his inauguration, and Tyler, his vice-president, finished his term.

§William McIntosh, a brother of Angus McIntosh. See note on page 22, this volume.

William H. Harrison to Henry Dearborn, Sec. of War

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 3rd March 1805.

Sir:

Such has been the irregularity of the mails from the severity of the Winter that your favor of the 17th of January did not reach me until a few days ago—The same cause must have retarded my letter of the 14th of Dec., which I suppose had not been received when yours of the above date was written.

Captn. Wells* has certainly not exerted himself to pacify the Indians who have taken offence at the late treaties with the Delawares and Piankeshaws. It is equally certain that the disaffected are not numerous as he has stated them to be and that those who have expressed discontent have been instigated thereto entirely by the Turtle.† Whether the Idea of opposition to those Treaties originated with himself or with Mr. Wells, I cannot determine but that the opinions of the one are always the opinions of the other I have long known. The Turtle has considerable influence over the Five Medals‡ and some other of the Putawatimie Chiefs, and I believe that Captain Wells and himself controle entirely the small band of Eel River Indians. But when Wells speaks of the Miami Nation being of this or that opinion he must be understood as meaning no more than the Turtle and himself. Nine tenths of that tribe who acknowledge Richardville and Peccan for their chiefs (but who are really governed by an artful fellow called the Owl or long beard whom you once saw at the seat of Government), utterly abhor both Wells and the Turtle. On this occasion however they may have been induced to join in the clamor from the expectation of deriving some advantage from it. After a

*William Wells was born about 1770 in Kentucky. When twelve years old he was carried off by a band of Miami Indians and adopted into the family of their chief, Little Turtle. He married the daughter of the chief and became very much attached to the tribe. In 1790 and 1791 he fought with the Indians against the Americans but later was persuaded by his family to leave the Indians and join the army. He bade his Indian friends farewell and became a captain of scouts in Wayne's army. He had many thrilling adventures and was killed at the massacre of Fort Dearborn, Aug. 15, 1812.

†Little Turtle or Me-she-kin-no-quah was born in 1752 twenty miles northwest of Fort Wayne. His father was a Miami chief and his mother a Mohican. He was made a chief because of his talents when young. He was with Burgoyne in his campaign against Saratoga in 1777. From 1780 he was leader of the Miamis in various war expeditions and upon one of these captured William Wells. In 1791 he lead the Indians against St. Clair and defeated him. In 1794 he was defeated by Wayne and signed the Treaty of Greenville in 1796. After this he remained a trusty friend of the Americans. Washington presented him with a sword which was buried with him. In 1797 he visited Philadelphia and had his portrait made. He died July 14, 1812 in his lodge a short distance north of the confluence of the St. Mary and the St. Joseph Rivers. (Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. Publ. Vol. XXIII, pages 105-149.)

‡Five Medals was the name of a Pottawattamie chief who lived in an Indian village which took its name from the chief. The village was on the Elkhart river near the town of Goshen and was destroyed by the Americans in 1812.

careful and dispassionate consideration of the subject I can see no reason to alter the opinion I had formed that neither the Miamis nor the Putawatimies have any just claim either in common or otherwise to any part of the tract ceded to the United States by the Delawares and Piankeshaws. The Delawares claim to that particular tract was derived from Present occupancy and from a grant said to have been made to them upward of thirty years ago by the Piankeshaws. When the French first descended the Wabash the Piankeshaws were found in the possession of the Country on either side of that River from its Mouth at least as high up as the Vermilion & the possession of it has never been disputed excepting by the Delawares who claimed under the Piankeshaws & the Weas who have occupied the country above Point Coupee since their towns at Ouiatanon* were destroyed by Genl. Scott and Wilkinson in the year 1791.

That the Piankeshaws are a tribe of the large Confederacy which obtained the appellation of Miami from the superior size of the particular tribe to which that name more properly belongs is not denied. The tie however which united them with their brethren has become so feeble that for many years past the connection has been scarcely acknowledged. For a considerable time antecedent to the treaty of Greenville the Piankeshaws found it necessary to adopt a different policy from that which was pursued by the tribes their allies. Three considerable bodies of men led into the heart of their country by General Clark between the years 1779-1786, convinced them that their union with the Miamis could not afford them the safety & protection which was no doubt the object of it—Several conferences were held between General Clark & his officers and their chiefs which resulted in the establishment of peace between them and the United States.

The proceedings at one of their conferences is preserved in Imlays History of Kentucky Vol. 2 page 79, and no mention is made of the Miami nation.

The assertion of Wells in his letter to you of the 7th Dec., that for upwards of 20 years which he had known the Indians in the quarter nothing of importance had ever been transacted by the Piankeshaws & Kaskaskias without the consent of the Miamis is a notorious falsehood. A treaty was made at this place in the year 1792 by Genl. Putnam with the Piankeshaws and Weas and peace established between those tribes & the United States. The Miamis were not parties to this Treaty and continued their hostilities against us until they were compelled to sue for peace, in the year 1795. Mr. Wells was present at Putnam's Treaty and I believe was employed as an interpreter.

*Brig. Gen. Scott of Kentucky on June 1st, 1791 attacked the towns at Ouiatanon, which were located on the Wabash about eight miles below the present site of Lafayette, and killed and made prisoners the Indians and destroyed their crops. In August of the same year, Brig. Gen. James Wilkinson returning from an expedition on the Wabash again destroyed the crops, which the Indians had replanted.

Altho the language, custom and manners of the Kaskaskios make it sufficiently certain that they derive their origin from the same source as the Miamis, the connexion had been dissolved even before the French had penetrated from Canada to the Mississippi. At that time a confederacy of Five tribes existed in the Illinois country composed of the Tribes called the Peorios, Kaskaskios, Mitchigamia, Cahokios and Tomasais. There are persons now alive who remember when those confederates could bring into the field upward of 2,000 warriors. A long and unsuccessful war with the Sacs (in which they received no assistance from the Miamis) has reduced them to the contemptable band which follows Ducoigne* and a remnant of Peorios who Procure a miserable subsistence by begging and stealing from the inhabitants of St. Genevieve.

And even these wretched beings have been prosecuted by those very Putawatimies who according to Mr. Wells have been and still are so closely united with the Miamis with which they are said to form one Nation. The fear of extirpation by the Potawatimies was one of the principal inducements with the Kaskaskios to commit themselves entirely to the protections of the United States.

The Kaskaskia Tribe never lifted the Tomahawk against the United States. The Miamis during the whole war with the North Western Indians were amongst the most active of their enemies and the most difficult to bring to a final accomodation.

The Piankeshaws altho they gave assistance to the other tribes in the commencement of the war seceded from the Confederacy and made peace with us three years before the Miamis.

If then the Piankeshaws and Kaskaskios were competent to the important concerns of making Peace and War without the consent of the Miamis, they must be equally so to sell land, which is acknowledged by theirs & which is no longer useful to them. The treaty of Greenville contains nothing to authorize the belief that those two Tribes were considered at that time dependent upon the Miamis. None of their chiefs were present—they did not think it necessary to go, as one of them had never been at war with the United States & the other had made peace three years before. But it was considered just that they should participate in the bounty of the United States—for that purpose their names were introduced into the Treaty and the Weas (not the Miamis), their nearest neighbours were requested to sign for them.

Inclosed is an address of the Turtle to Wells which he desired might be sent to me for the Purpose of convincing me that the

*Jean Baptist Decoigne may have been a son of an old interpreter who was located at Niagara in 1778 and appears on the British pension rolls in 1795. (Illinois Hist. Colls. Vol. I, page 351 and Mich. Pion. Colls. Vol. 25, page 108.) In 1781 he visited Virginia and was for a short time in the army under Lafayette. He favored the American cause and on account of this his life was constantly in danger. He aided Clark in the capture of Kaskaskia and held a council with St. Clair at that place in 1790. About 1793 he visited George Washington and Congress. He was small, active and intelligent. He had a daughter Ellen who married a white man and received a tract of land of about 350 acres near Kaskaskia, by an Act of Congress, May 3, 1793.

Piankeshaws had no right to sell their lands. I can see nothing in it however to weaken what I have advanced above. It is my decided opinion that the U. S. have the right to treat with either of the tribes who were parties to the Treaty of Greenville. Motives of humanity will always prevent them from purchasing land which cannot be conveniently spared and the interest of those who without having any just claim to the land but who may derive their support from it, will be attended to. Their principles are exemplified by the Treaties made with *two* tribes for one tract of land when a complete and legal title might perhaps have been obtained by the extinction of the claims of one.

The Tract purchased of the Delawares and Piankeshaws is not nor ever has been since my arrival in this country frequented as a Hunting ground by either the Miamis or Putawatimies. None of the Indians go there to hunt buffaloes (as Mr. Wells has asserted) not an animal of that kind having been seen within that tract for several years, nor is its generally flat surface well calculated for the residence of bears.

The Putawatimies so far from having any claim to land on the South East side of the Wabash acknowledged that they have trespassed upon the Miamis by settling on the north bank of that river & it has been an object with the Turtle & Wells for several years to get them to remove.

You will perceive by my letter to Mr. Wells a copy of which was inclosed in mine to you of the 14th Dec., that I had directed him to send the Putawatimie and Miami Chiefs to me at this place—The Little Turtle has declined the invitation and gives the artful and mischievous reason which you will see in the enclosed address & I am persuaded that he will make every exertion in his power to prevent my seeing the Putawatimie at any other place than Fort Wayne.

I do not know whether Wells has informed the Putawatimies Chiefs of my wishes to have an interview with them in his answer to my letter he contents himself with announcing the refusal of the Turtle.

As there can be no doubt but that every thing that can be advanced in favor of the Miami claim is to be found in the Turtle's address to the President, in that to Mr. Wells & in Wells's own letters the matter will be fully before the President & I must beg for further instructions. Unless it is determined to admit the principle that the Delawares and Piankeshawa had no right to sell their land without the consent of the Miamis, Putawatimies etc., it will be improper in my opinion to have a public conference on the subject as it will be necessary to invite not only the chiefs of those two tribes but those of the Weas, Eel River, Kickapoo and Shawanoe Tribes & I know that they can never be *convinced* without a gratification which will considerably exceed the original purchase money.

From the enclosed address of Wells, which is said to have been made to the Miami Chiefs, but which I am convinced was made to the Turtle alone). I am afraid that he has misunderstood your instructions. He assures the Indians that if they can shew, a just claim to the land in question *restitution* will instantly be made. He uses the same expression in the letter which enclosed the address.

The violent opposition which the Turtle has made to the Delaware and Piankeshaw treaties is easily accounted for. Conciuous of the superiority of his Talents over the rest of his race & colour he sighs for a more conspicuous theatre to display them. Opportunities for exhibiting his eloquence occur too seldom to satisfy his vanity and the subjects which are generally discussed in the councils of the few chiefs who adhere to him, are too contemptable to gratify his ambitions. A closer connexion among the neighbouring Tribes and a regular convention of their chiefs has long been the ruling wish of his heart & the object of numberless intrigues.

An attachment for his person, a submissive defference to his talents, or a supposed coincidence of interests has caused the Agent of the United States to adopt the opinions and promote the views of the Turtle to the utmost extent of his public as well as private influence. The propriety of delivering at Fort Wayne the annuities for the Tribes on the lower part of the Wabash & of obliging them (the Wea's particularly) to remove to the neighbourhood of that place & the benifits that would result to the United States as well as the Indians by an annual assemblage of the chiefs of all the Tribes at which all business was to be transacted has been often pressed upon me. The Treaties with the Kaskaskios, the Dellawares and Piankeshaws Tribes has given a mortal stab to this favourite scheme and altho I am convinced that very few of the Indians feel any injury from those Treaties it is very easy to persuade them that they have been injured.

Captn. Wells's conduct in this affair certainly deserves severe animadversion I think it probable however that he did not foresee the consequences of it to the public interest and that some ridiculous *spice* of jealousy towards myself may have mingled itself with his motives. In order to prevent the like in future & to secure a just & proper dependance upon the head of the Department I must take the liberty to recommend that he may be informed by you that the Approbation of the President and the Continuance of his favour will depend up on the reports which I may make of the zeal and fidelity with which he seconds me in executing the orders of the government. There is perhaps no department which requires greater unanimity amongst the agents than that which has the management of Indians affairs. The jealousy of those people is so easily excited that a single artful observation is frequently sufficient to defeat the best concerted plan even when on the point of conclusion.

I was not present when the Miamis recognised the Title of the Delawares to the country between the White River and the Ohio, but I have no doubt of the fact it came to my knowledge in the following manner:—I did myself the honor to inform you after my returning from Fort Wayne in the year 1803: That the Owl or long beard had with very considerable address prevented the great body of the Miamis from attending my summons to meet me at Fort Wayne for the purpose of receiving their Annuities & concluding the Treaty, the preliminaries of which had been fixed at this place the proceeding fall—& that after waiting for them a considerable time, I was forced to content myself with the signatures of Richardville, the Sachem of the nation & the Turtle. Two days after the Treaty* had been signed and at the very moment of my departure, the Owl arrived with a principal chief called Peccan,† a number of minor chiefs & 100 or 150 warriors. It was a matter of importance to expose to the Miamis the arts of the Owl & to explain to them the Conditions of the Treaty. A council was therefore appointed for the next day and all the chiefs of the other Tribes who were still within reach (for some of them had returned), were requested to attend. The time for the meeting of the council arrived but neither the Miamis nor the Delawares appeared. After waiting for them a considerable time I was informed that those two tribes were in council together, & soon time after the Delawares arrived—there were then with me, General Gibson, Mr. Wells, The Turtle & a few of his followers & some Putawatimies Chiefs, Titiboski,‡ the Delaware Sachem produced a belt of Wampum & addressing himself to me through Genrl. Gibson observed that the Miami Chiefs had that morning with the consent of all the warriors acknowledged their right to the land between the White River and the Ohio and had given them that Wampum to commemorate the transaction — The Miamis joined us immediately after and as soon as I had reproached them with their improper & disrespectful conduct & explained the artifices by which the Owl had mislead & embarrassed their affairs I was obliged to leave the conclusion of the council to Mr. Wells & set out on my return as I had upwards of thirty miles to ride on that day to the place where my boat had been left on the Wabash & the water was falling so rapidly as to make the utmost expedition necessary to secure my passage—The Miamis were induced to take this step by the persuasions of the Owl and

*Up to this time Harrison had made five treaties with the Indians of the Indiana Territory, the first on June 7, 1803, the second Aug. 7th, 1803, third on Aug. 13, 1803, fourth on Aug. 18, 1804, fifth on Aug. 27, 1804. The Miamis had figured in the first as mentioned and under the circumstances here related. The following summer Aug. 21, 1805 Harrison succeeded in getting them to join in the treaty at Grouseland near Vincennes.

†Peccan succeeded Little Turtle as representative of the Miamis and signed a treaty at Greenville in July, 1814. He died soon after and was succeeded by Chief Richardville.

‡Titiboski, also spelled Teteboxti, Tatepocoshi and Tettepoxske.

his object was to strengthen his party by gaining over the Delawares—An object which engaged the Turtle's attention at that time also—the charges which the Turtle has brought against me in his address to the President I would have passed over without an observation if he had not hinted at the use of unfair means in procuring the consent of the Indians to the treaties I have made with them, and as I have never before that I recollect informed you of my mode of proceeding on those occasions I have thought it proper to do so at the present moment. Whenever the Indians have been assembled for any Public purpose the use of ardent spirits has been strictly interdicted until the object for which they were convened was accomplished & if in spite of my vigilance it had been procured a stop was immediately put to all business until it was consumed & its affects completely over. Every conference with the Indians has been in public. All persons who choose to attend were admitted and the most intelligent and respectable characters in the neighbourhood specially invited to witness the fairness of the transaction. No treaty has ever been signed until each article was particularly and repeatedly explained by the most capable and confidential interpreters. Sketches of the tract of country about to be ceded have always been submitted to the Indians & their own rough delineations made on the floor with a bit of charcoal have proved their perfect comprehension of its situation and extent.

As I am convinced that it will be almost impossible to get the Miami & Putawatimie Chiefs here under present circumstances, I shall hold myself in readiness to proceed to Fort Wayne immediately upon the receipt of your answer when I hope to be indulged with your particular instructions—By an indirect channel I am informed that it is in contemplation to continue the United States road which is completed as far as Dayton on the Miamis to this place I fear that it will be very difficult to prevail on the Indians to consent to it.

Richardville* the Sachem or Principal Chief of the Miamis whose father was a Frenchman carries on a small trade with that tribe—He generally procures his goods on the British side of the lakes and the Duties have always been exacted from him by the Collector† of Detroit contrary in my opinion to the Treaty with Great Britain—He has applied to me for redress, if you should think as I do I must beg your interference to relieve him from the

*Richardville was a distinguished Miami chief born about 1761 near the confluence of the St. Mary and St. Joseph Rivers. His father was Druet de Richardville, a French trader and his mother an Indian, Tau-cum-wa. She was a woman of much influence with her tribe, had a monopoly of the portage and transportation business on the Maumee and Wabash rivers for many years, and was supposed to have amassed a considerable fortune. John Baptist Richardville or Pe-she-wa (Wild cat) was her only son. He became the leader of the Miamis after the death of Peccan in 1814. He died in 1841 aged about 80 years. (Brice's Fort Wayne, pages 22, 280, 285, 314.) Thatcher's Indian Biography, Vol. II, states that he was a nephew of Little Turtle.

†Matthew Ernest was collector at Detroit from 1799-1805 and was succeeded by Joseph Wilkinson who held that office from June 1805-June 1806.

Duties in future—There is no doubt of his attachment to our interests.

I have lately received intelligence from the Arkansaw informing me that the Osages have plundered the Traders & other inhabitants upon that River to an immense amount.

I have the Honor to be with perfect esteem and respect

The Hon.

Henry Dearborn, Esq.

Secry. of War.

Your Hum. Servt.,

Willm. Henry Harrison.

Indian Chiefs to Capt. Wells

Photostat from Copy in War Department, Washington, D. C.

Copy.

White River, March 30, 1805.

Our Nephew:

We send to you our Nephew William Patterson, to Counsell with you, we wish that you will listen to what he says concerning of Governor Harrison's purchasing a large Tract of Land, we know nothing of it, we have not in our power to sell land and more than that it is contrary to the articles of the Treaty of Greenville therefore we send to you the writing the Governor gave us, when he gave it to us, he told us that it was an instrument of writing to keep peace and friendship among us—therefore we wish that you will see into it and let the President our Father know that the purchase is unlegal and that he may take such measures as will prevent it from being settled, this is all, but you will listen to what Patterson says, as we cannot have all wrote what we wish to say, this is all at present but remain your Uncles.

(Signed) Tethtepoxske,* his mark X

Capt.

" Buckingehelas,† his mark X

William Wells.

" Hockingpomskon, his mark X

I certify that the foregoing is a true translation of what the above signed chiefs said to William Wells.

(Signed) John Connor.

*Tethtepoxske was at this time an aged and venerable chief of the Delawares. He fell a victim of the wiles of Elskwatawa, the Prophet, Tecumseh's brother. He met his death after having been accused of being a witch. He died about 1807 aged eighty years. His wife and nephew "Billy" Patterson were also marked by the Prophet and doomed to be burned. His wife escaped but "Billy" was burned. "Billy" Patterson had resided many years with the whites and was a gun-smith by trade. He died singing and praying. (Thatcher's Indian Biography, Vol. II, pp. 197-198.)

†Buckongahelas was a Delaware chief who rose from the station of private warrior to be the head war chief of his nation. He was in sympathy with the British but after Wayne's victory decided upon immediate peace with the United States. He was among those who objected to the treaties which Harrison was making. He must have died shortly after signing this letter. (Thatcher's Indian Biography, Vol. II, p. 180.)

The Address of William Patterson, a Delaware Indian Chief, to William Wells, Agent of Indian Affairs, Delivered at Fort Wayne in the Indiana Territory, April 5, 1805.

Photostat from Original in War Department, Washington, D. C.

Friend and Brother! Listen to what I now say to you I am sent by the chiefs of my nation to speak the following words to you.

Friend and Brother! my chiefs take you by the hand and salute you and inform you that it has pleased God that they should see another spring.

Friend and Brother! my chiefs inform you that their minds are troubled concerning the visit they made Governor Harrison last summer at Vincennes they were invited to that place by the Governor and on their arrival they were much pleased to hear him say that he wished to brighten the chain of Friendship between the White and Red people and that he had invited them to see them for that purpose.

Friend and Brother! Our chiefs was told by the Governor that he wished them to become more civilized and that he would give them an addition to their annuity of Five hundred dollars a year to enable them to procure the necessary articles for the purpose of enabling them to cultivate their Lands and that he was present when the Miamies gave all White River to the Delawares and that he would give them an instrument of writing that would show that the country on White River belonged to the Delawares—he farther told our Chiefs that the Piankieshaws did not acknowledge the right of the Delawares to the lands on the White River, but he would satisfy them on this head and would give them money out of his own pocket in order to get them to acknowledge the right of the Delawares to the lands on White River, and that the road from Vincennes to the Falls should in future be the boundary line between the lands of the Delawares and Piankieshaws.

Friend and Brother!! When these words was spoke to our chiefs by the Governor they were much pleased with what he said the Governor then wrote two papers which he told our chiefs contained the words he had just spoken, to them and that he wished them to sign them both that he would send one to the President of the United States and one they could keep themselves in order that the good words he had spoke might be kept in remembrance by the White and Red people our chiefs chearfully signed these papers.

Friend and Brother!! you may judge how our chiefs felt when they returned home and found that the Governor had been shut-

ting up their eyes and stopping their ears with his good words and got them to sign a deed for their lands without their knowledge.

Friend and Brother!! the chiefs of my nation now declare to you from the bottom of their hearts in the presence of God that they never sold Governor Harrison, or the United States any land at Vincennes last summer to their knowledge.

Friend and Brother, my chiefs well remember that all disputes between, them and the United States are to be settled in a peaceable manner and I am directed by them to tell you that they place confidence in you and it is their wish that you take such immediate steps as may appear to you to be best for bringing about a fair understanding on the subject of the Treaty that it appears they signed last summer at Vincennes, and that you as soon as possible inform our great father the President of the United States how Governor Harrison, has attempted to impose on his Red Children

Friend and Brother! my chiefs declare to you that they are not willing to sell the lands on the Ohio from the mouth of the Wabash to Clarks grant at the Falls and that they consider it out of their power to do any such thing without the consent of the other nations in this country.

Friend and Brother! my chiefs wishes you to prevent this land being settled by the White people.

Friend and Brother these are the words that was put in my mouth by the chiefs of my nation, in order that I might deliver them to you.

Signed in the presence of

(Signed) Wm. Patterson, his
X
mark.

(Signed) John Johnston,*
U. S. Factor.

(Signed) S. Owens, Lieut.,
1st Regt. Infy.

I certify that the above is a true translation of what William Patterson, a Delaware Chief, said to William Wells, this 5th Day of April 1805.

(Signed) John Connor.

*Col. John Johnston was born in Ballyshannon, Ireland in 1775 and died in Washington, D. C. in 1861. He came to Pennsylvania with his parents when a small boy. At seventeen he was in Wayne's army in the Quartermaster's Department. President Madison appointed him Indian Agent at upper Piqua and he held that position for 30 years. (Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio, Vol. II-III, p. 525.)

Rumors of War in the Missouri

Photostat from Original in War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 6th April 1805.

Sir:

For several weeks passed rumours of an approaching Indian war in the Missouri have reached me but I am well convinced that there is not the smallest foundation for them. The Indians on this side of the Mississippi have certainly nothing of the kind in view. As soon as I receive any information that can be depended on it shall be communicated.

I have the Honor to be with great
respect Sir Your

Humble Servt.

Willm. Henry Harrison.

The Honble,

The Secretary of War.*

William H. Harrison to Henry Dearborn, Sec. of War

Photostat from Original in War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 26th April 1805.

Sir:—

The two papers herewith enclosed I received to-day from Captn. Wells. I am convinced that this man will not rest until he had persuaded the Indians that their very existence depends upon the rescinding the treaty of the Delawares and Piankeshaws. My knowledge of his character induces me to believe that he will go any length or use any means to carry a favorite point, and much mischief may come from his knowledge of the Indians his cunning and his perseverance. If I had not informed you that I should wait here the arrival of your further orders I would set out tomorrow for Fort Wayne. I have lately learnt that Genl. Wilkinson was soon expected in the Indian Country. He has considerable influence with the Miamis and particularly with the Turtle. I take the liberty to recommend that he may be associated with me for the purpose of satisfying the Indians. As soon as I receive your answer to my letter of the 1st ultimo unless it contains other instructions I will proceed to Cincinnati where I can meet General Wilkinson in his passage down the Ohio, and we can then go to Fort Wayne together.

*Henry Dearborn was Secretary of War, 1801-1809.

The interruption to the General will not be great and the additional expense trifling. I shall be obliged to take General Gibson with me because I can get no interpreter of the Delaware Language at Ft. Wayne that can be depended on. And as he was the Interpreter to the Treaty with that Tribe it is necessary that he should be present at the explanations which take place in the presence of the other tribes.

If your expected letter should contain no positive instructions on the subject of my meeting the Indians at Fort Wayne but should leave it to be decided by myself unless some very unexpected circumstances should take place I will certainly go on.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Sir your Humb. Servt.

Willm. H. Harrison.

Honble,
Henry Dearborn, Esq.,
Secy. of War.

P. Chouteau to William Henry Harrison

Photostat from Original in War Department, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Wm. Hy. Harrison,
Governor, &c.
Sir:—

St. Louis, May the 22nd, 1805.

The barge of Capn. Lewis, arrived the day before yesterday he has sent by this opportunity Fourty-five chiefs or *consideres* of the nations; Ricaras, Poncas, Sioux of the tribes on the Missouri, Mahas, Ottos and Missourys in order that they may be conducted from here to the Federal City; I send you an express to give you notice of their arrival, they unanimously wish to undertake this journey, but as my instructions, whereof you have a perfect knowledge do not permit the departure of any Indian for the seat of Government without a special permission, I think it is my duty to wait your answer, before I give them mine and I hope that in the shortest time possible you will transmitt to me your orders and will direct my conduct on this occasion as minutely as possible

I will observe to you that I am ever in the same opinion that the warm season is very dangerous for these Indians, of whom perhaps a great number will fall victims to so long and penible journey in a climate so different from their own, and the nations should be certainly dissatisfyed and would have a defavorable idea of the government if the Indians now here don't come back safely amongst them. I think that the autumn and winter are the only proper season to undertake withe security that trip, if you were of the same opinion it would be convenient, I Beleive; that these

Indians stay here or not far from here in going from time to time to hunt in the neighborhood, what ever may be your opinion for the time of the departure I think that it will be necessary to call for some chiefs of the nations Sakias and Foxes who are called by the Government Which is already known to them, and also for some chief of the Sioux of the river des moens who are come here with Mr. Crawford and have asked for the same journey I promised to make them know the intentions of the government about it. As the expenses of the voyage will be in proportion to the number of the Indians which will amount to sixty at least perhaps you will find it convenient to send back to the nations some of them to bring the news of the departure of the others. Finally I Pray you to give me very particular instructions on every article, being desirous that my conduct maybe approved, fix, if you please, the certain epoch of the departure, the number of the Indian to be conducted, if some of them agree to go back fix the road to be taken and authorise me to expend which sums you will judge necessary.

I shall ever be ready to start with the Indian in all time and if I propose you some objections on the season it is only to avoid reproach from the government or from the Indians in the supposition that some unhappy event should arrive.

The party of Sioux conducted here by Mr. Dixon have started this morning satisfied of the *presents* which I have given to them. As the contractor is in the impossibility to furnish me with the provisions Dayly Wanted, I will be obliged to buy them and I Beleive that it will be for his own account. Mr. Ewing, an interpreter and another man wanted by him will start in a few days for the Sakias.

I remain with the gretest consideration.

Sir

Your very humble and obed. Servt
P. Chouteau.* agt.

Unsigned Letter from William H. Harrison

Photostat from Original in War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 27th May 1805.

Sir:—

I have this moment received your favour of the 22nd instant. The arrival of the Indians from the upper parts of the Missouri at

*John Pierre Chouteau, Sr. was born in New Orleans Oct. 10, 1758 and came to St. Louis at the age of six. He devoted most of his life to Indian trade and had a post at the headwaters of the Osage river, trading with the Osages, Kansas Indians, Pawnees etc. When the Americans came into possession of the country he was made Sub Indian Agent for his old friends. He married twice and had nine children, eight boys and one girl. He was a younger brother of Col. Auguste Chouteau, Sr. (Billon's Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days 1804-1821.)

this particular time is certainly an unfortunate circumstance. After as full a consideration of the affair as the time will allow I have determined as follows: You will please to state to the Indians the inconveniences that will attend their going on at present and explain to them your arrangement for their spending the summer in the Neighbourhood of St. Louis. If they should readily agree to it that plan will be adopted. If on the contrary they should express a wish to go on you will proceed immediately to make the necessary arrangements and set out for this place with all the expedition in your power—expedition is the more necessary as the President and the Heads of Departments will be absent from the seat of Government after the month of June. It is impossible for me at this distance to prescribe to you in the detail the arrangements necessary for your outfit in this Trip. I must therefore leave it entirely to yourself relying upon your Judgements and Economy that no expenses will be gone into but such as the due execution of the object requires. I therefore hereby authorize you to draw upon the Secretary of War, for such sums as may be required for the purchase of Horses and other necessities for the Trip.

On your arrival at this place you will receive more particular instructions. If any engagement for interpreters has been made and no particular objection can be made to their integrity or Capacity you will please to employ them. An English interpreter will also be necessary. You will also please to apply to Major Bruff for an escort as far as this place when you will be furnished with one to take you to the Ohio.

I wish very much to send on a few of the Sioux, of the Demoin and some Sacs, and Foxes, and if you can get them ready to go on with the others do so. Every exertion in your power must be made to diminish the number by sending back as many of those that have come down the Missouri as you can get to go back—give them a few articles that will be acceptable and send them with a speech to their nation informing them of the departure of their friends for the seat of Government.

I am very respectfully,
Your Humble Servant.

Pierre Chouteau Esquire,
Agent of Indian Affairs,
Saint Louis.

William Henry Harrison to Henry Dearborn

Photostat—Original in War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 27th May 1805.

Sir:—

The enclosed letter from Mr. Choteau I received this day by a special messenger and have returned him a answer of which the enclosed is a copy (No. 2.). If the Indians should now go forward to the seat of Government, I will dispatch them as quickly as possible. On their arrival at this place I will have them inoculated* with the vaccine disease that they may avoid the small pox which is at this time in Kentucky. I have directed Mr. Choteau to go on with them because he is better acquainted with their manners and their wants than any other person that could be procured. A party of Sioux of the Mississippi have lately visited St. Louis for the purpose of delivering up one of their warriors who had killed two Canadians the servants of a trader in their country but upon examination it appeared that the Indian killed them in his own defense and that they were the aggressors. He was accordingly permitted to return with his friends upon conditions of his being delivered up at any time hereafter when he should be demanded. Enclosed (No. 3.) is a letter from a friend of mine on the spot which gives a particular account of the transaction.

The respect which has been manifested towards the United States by this numerous and warlike tribe and the favorable reception which Captains Lewis† and Clark‡ have met with from

*As early as 1783 when an epidemic of smallpox broke out among the soldiers at Three Rivers, Canada, many doctors went from distant parts to obtain specimens for inoculation and to compare results. As there was a difference of opinion as to its benefits, the experiments were ordered stopped. Haldemand wrote that he feared the consequences of carrying smallpox by this means to the Indians. He expressed his displeasure with Dr. John de Courcy Gill, who was one of the most active. On Nov. 2, 1783, an order was issued that all matter for inoculation carried from Quebec should be placed under guard. (Canadian Archives, B. 127, pp. 333, 340, 396; B. 128, p. 125; B. 197, pp. 321, 323, 331; B. 213, pp. 71, 97, 101. Mich. Pion. Colls., Vol. 20, p. 198.) The Century Dictionary places the date of the first vaccination upon a human subject at a later date.

†Meriwether Lewis was born in 1774 and died 1809. In 1794 he volunteered in troops that were called out to quell the whiskey insurrection in west Pennsylvania. He entered the regular service in 1795 and became a captain in 1800. From 1801-3 he was private secretary to President Jefferson and was sent by him on an expedition to the Pacific. He set out in the summer of 1803 and was joined by Capt. Clark, a company of nine Kentucky young men, fourteen soldiers, two Canadian boatmen, an interpreter, a hunter and a negro servant of Capt. Clark's. In the spring of 1804 they began the ascent of the Missouri river, spending the winter with the Mandan Indians, and on April 7, 1805, continued their ascent until the middle of July. They crossed the continent and on the 15th of November reached the mouth of the Columbia river, where they passed the winter. In March, 1806, they began their return journey. Lewis was made governor of the territory of Missouri after his return. (Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography.)

the Tribes of the Missouri augures well to our affairs in that quarter and forms a striking contrast to the conduct of some of the more neighbouring tribes which have been treated by our Government with the utmost tenderness and indulgence. In my last letter I informed you that it was my intention to set out for Fort Wayne unless the Instructions I expected to receive from you should otherwise direct.

Upon more mature deliberations I have been induced to abandon my opinion of the propriety of that step; first from the probability that my services will shortly be required here to hold a session of the Legislature§ & secondly because I think it would be a sacrifice of that dignity and authority which it is necessary to observe in all our transactions with the Indians. We are not conscious of having done them any wrong but as they pretend to think otherwise they have been invited to come forward and state their grievances. And every assurance has been given that for any injury which may have unintentionally been done them ample remuneration shall be made. As they have declined this invitation I think it would be improper for us to discover too much solicitude to give them satisfaction lest they would attribute that to fear which is purely the effect of Justice and benevolence. An error which the Indians above all the people in the world are prone to imbibe. As it is very possible however that they may have been imposed upon by false statements and misrepresentations, I conceived it to be a matter of importance to remove from their minds every false impression—to ascertain whether the uneasiness and alarm really exists amongst them to the extent that has been spoken of and to discover who the persons are (for that there are such I am perfectly convinced) who excite their jealousy and feed their discontent. For these purposes I have dispatched General Gibson to the Delawares and Col. Vigo to the Miamis and Putawatimies. Upon their return I shall be able to give you satisfactory information on every subject connected with their mission.

†William Clark was born in 1770 and died at St. Louis Sept. 1, 1838. He was a younger brother of George Roger Clark and removed with his family to Kentucky in 1784 to the site of the present city of Louisville, where his brother had built a fort. Here he became acquainted with the Indian customs. He was an ensign at 18 and appointed lieutenant of infantry March 7, 1792. He was made adjutant and quartermaster in 1793, but resigned in July, 1796, on account of ill health. Soon after he removed to St. Louis and in March, 1804, was appointed second lieutenant of artillery, with orders to join Capt. Lewis on his expedition across the Rockies. He was the principal military director of the expedition, and his knowledge of Indians had much to do with the success of the enterprise. He kept a journal which was published. He was appointed governor of Missouri Territory in 1813 and held that office until 1821, when it became a state. In 1822 President Monroe appointed him superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis and he held this until his death. (Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography.)

§The legislature convened on July 29 in response to a call of June 7 and consisted of seven representatives—Jesse B. Thomas, Davis Floyd, Benjamin Parke, John Johnson, Shadrach Bond, William Biggs and Dr. George Fisher and five councilors, Benjamin Chambers, Samuel Gwathmey, John Rice Jones, Pierre Menard and John Hay. (Indiana, a Redemption from Slavery, by J. P. Dunn, pp. 326-327.)

In the course of this spring I have seen all the chiefs of the Weas one excepted—a large deputation from the Kickapoos of the Prairie and other from those of the Vermilion River, almost the whole band of Eel River Indians and the only chief of the Delawares who was not present at the late treaty with that Tribe in none of these have I discovered the smallest signs of discontent—and I am persuaded that if it does exist it exists no where but in the immediate neighborhood of Fort Wayne* and the Indians there are no more effected by the Treaties with the Delawares and Piankeshaws than the Mandanes† of the Missouri.

I received by the express from St. Louis a long letter from Capt. Clark the companion of Capt. Lewis. The dispatches for the President and for your department were not sent on which will delay their arrival at Washington nearly a fortnight. They passed the Winter with the Mandanes 1609 miles up the Missouri in Latd. 47° 21' 47" north Longde. and 101° 25' and had met with no material accident.

Your letter of the — Febry. covering the President's pardon of the Sac Indian confined at St. Louis did not reach me until near two months after its date it was immediately forwarded to St. Louis, but unfortunately it did not arrive until the Indian had effected his escape from the Guard House—he was fired on by the centinel and the body of an Indian had lately been found near St. Louis with mark of buck shot in his head which is supposed to be the prisoner.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect and consideration.

Sir your Hum. Servt.,

Willm. Henry Harrison.

The Honble.

Henry Dearborn, Secy. of War.

MINUTES OF A COUNCIL HELD AT FORT WAYNE

On the 21st day of June, 1805, by General Gibson and Colonel
Vigo—present the Delawares, Eel River and
Miamies Indians.

Photostat—Original in War Department, Washington, D. C.

Genrl. Gibson—Governor Harrison your Father has sent Col.
Vigo and myself to speak to you, what we say
you may consider as coming from him, he is appointed by

*The district of the Miamis.

†The Mandans were a Siouan tribe of the northwest. At this time they numbered about 1250 and lived in two small villages on opposite sides of the Missouri River below the mouth of the Knife River.

your great Father, the President of the U. S. sole commissioner to transact business with his red children, within the Indian Territory, he has heard that a number of bad people have circulated a number of bad storys among you, he has also heard that your hearts are uneasy about it, that you cannot rest. In order to wipe off the impression made by those bad reports your Father, the Governor wishes the Tribes here present to send some of their principal chiefs to Vincennes to see him, he wishes us to assure you that the intentions of your Father towards you is good and that your interest and happiness is near to his heart. When you come to see him he will be able to remove all the uneasiness from your minds. In the meantime he desires you not to listen to any bad stories, or any lying birds that maybe flying about. We now request you to fix upon the time when it will be convenient for you to come and see the Governor, in order that he may have every thing ready for your accomodation, we will set off in two nights and would be happy to know what time you can set off—this is all we have at present to say to you.

Hockingpomskon†—I am very glad to hear what you have said to us—you may depend on my going to Vincennes when I expect to have an opportunity of delivering my sentiments—.

The Little Turtle—I have listened to what you have said to us, the Miamies wishes for time to consider on the subject of your speech, we hope you will not think hard at our not making up our minds immediately, we want to consult the Eel River Indians who have just come in (at this time the Miamies and Eel River Indians retired from the council—in about an hour they returned when the Little Turtle proceeded) your children have listened to your words and to the words of their great Father thro' you, they have consulted together on what you have said they are afraid you are tired waiting, I have nothing to say to you I am no Miamie, I am only their interpreter—We can form no opinion at present on what you have said to us, we think it absolutely necessary to consult the Putawatimies before we can come to any conclusion about the time we are to go to Vincennes you will tell our Father the Governor the weather is now very warm and that we cannot say at what time we can come to see him. The Indians that live on the Wabash are convenient and can go along at any time, we wish to consult the Indians in this quarter before we come to a conclusion.

†Hockingpomskon was one of the chiefs of the Delawares. He signed the Treaty of Greenville and was designated as one of the Sandusky Delawares. He signed the treaties of 1803, 1804 and 1805. He was absent from the treaty of Sept. 30, 1809, and William Anderson, a Delaware chief, signed for him. His name is also spelled Hawkinpumiska and Hockingpomskeen(kaan). (Indian Affairs. Treaties compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler, Washington, 1904.)

Genl. Gibson—We wish that after consulting the Putawati-mies and when you fix upon the time to come forward that you send your Father the Governor information in order that he may be prepared to receive you it is true the weather is now very warm but we hope that will not prevent you from coming forward as soon as possible to set all to right.

Little Turtle—We wish not to be hurried, we think it a matter of importance, we think we have reason to complain and we wish for time to deliberate on the subject.

Richardville—I should wish to attend the call of the Governor but my business calls me in another direction. The Indians are slow in their deliberations and wish for time—

Council adjourned.

In coming from the Council House to the Fort the Peccon addressed them as follows:

The Little Turtle has said that we wished for time to deliberate on what you have said to us, he (the Peccon) did not want to deliberate he wanted to go on to Vincennes now and would go at any time, the Turtle had no right to say the Indians wanted time to think on it, that was not the case, he said he would speak again to Genrl. Gibson and Col. Vigo.

J. J.*

William Wells to General John Gibson.

Photostat—Original in War Department, Washington, D. C.

Fort Wayne, 22nd June 1805.

Dear Sir:

I have been this moment requested by the Miamis and Eel River Indians to make the following communication to you in writing—

they say that they have no doubt but the Governor has sent you and Col. Vigo to call them to Vincennes but it appears absolutely necessary to them that you should shew them your written instructions from the Governor for that purpose. Should you not be instructed in writing by the Governor to give them this invitation that you would be pleased to inform the Governor on your arrival at Vincennes that they wish him to confirm what you told them yesterday as they wished to embrace the first opportunity of making their sentiment known to the United States respecting the late treaty of Vincennes,†

*John Johnston.

†Delaware treaty was held Aug. 18, 1804.

and in the meantime they woud git themselves in readiness to met the Governor at Vincennes—I am requested to obtain your answer to this communication in writing it appeared that the Little Turtle was requested to wait on you this morning and to make this communication to you which he says he had done but has his Doubts whether you understood him or not.

I have the honor to be,

Sir your most Obt
W. Wells.

Genl. John Gibson.

(Continued)

MANUSCRIPTS AND RECORDS
FROM THE
BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION

VOLUME I

FEBRUARY 1917

NUMBER 3

THOMAS HUTCHINS,* GEOGRAPHER

Photostat—Files of the Senate, Washington, D. C.

Memorial of Thomas Hutchins Praying Compensation for
Sufferings and Services of His Late Father
January 18th, 1798

Legis: 2d Sess: 5th Cong:

To the Honorable the Senate of the United States,
The Memorial of Thomas Hutchins of
Philadelphia,

humbly sheweth,

That your memorialists Father, the late Thomas Hutchins,
Geographer General of the United States, was a Native of Mon-

*Thomas Hutchins was born in Monmouth Co., N. J., in 1730, and died in Pittsburgh, Pa., April 28, 1789. He entered the British army before he was sixteen. After his return to America, as stated in the above memorial, he became geographer to the United States. He was one of the early map makers and furnished maps and plates for "Account of Bouquet's Expedition, Philadelphia, 1765." He was author of "A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, London, 1778"; "History, Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and West Florida, Philadelphia, 1784"; three papers in the "Philadelphia Transactions" (1775-6, 1783); and one in the "Transactions of the American Society." His maps laid the foundation of American Geography. Some of his papers are in the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia, others in the Chicago Historical Society, in the departments at Washington, D. C., and in the British Museum. (Thomas Hutchins: A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, reprinted from original edition of 1778. Edited by Frederick Charles Hicks, Cleveland 1904.)

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mouth County in the State of New Jersey, and very early entered into military service, in the Colonial troops, under General Bouquet, in the War which was then carried on by the British Government against the French and Indians—that he, afterwards, served in the sixtieth Regiment of Royal Americans, in the capacity of Chief Engineer, with the Rank of Captain, in the provinces of East and West Florida and Louisiana. That, at the Commencement of the American Revolution, he was called to London for the purpose of being dispatched to Detroit to take the Command of one thousand men then destined against Pittsburgh; but, feeling as an American, he declined the offered Command. That, from the very first Commencement of Hostilities on the part of Great Britain against America, he made frequent Attempts to sell his Commission, for which he had been offered two thousand Guineas; but this the Government of Great Britain prevented him from doing, on account of an Allegation against him that he held Correspondence with Doctor Franklin our then Ambassador at the Court of France. He was supposed by the Minister and his party to be unfriendly to the intentions of the Mother Country, and, in Consequence thereof, was confined as a State Prisoner and all his property real and personal was confiscated to the amount of £2969, 19, 0 sterling, exclusive of a Mandamus or Warrant for 10,000 Acres of Land and his Appointment as Engineer and also exclusive of his Demand against the Government for different sums by him advanced and Engagements and Obligations to a considerable further amount by him made for the Credit of the Crown. In this destitute situation persecuted by the Government which he had faithfully served he was necessitated to borrow a sum from a Friend which enabled him to escape into France; from whence he came to America, in a truly necessitous condition, having, for his Attachment to the Country of his Birth, sacrificed the whole of his Fortune!

In May 1781 Congress were pleased to honor him with the Commission of Geographer General to the United States, the salary of which did not even enable him to discharge the numerous unavoidable expenses necessarily incident to the Execution of the duties of that office. He, however, continued in that Capacity, until infirmities brought on by his attention and zeal for the interest and advantage of his Country deprived him of Life!

Notwithstanding his immense losses and sacrifices, and the incompetency of his salary to the execution of the objects of his office, he remained silent, trusting that the day would arrive, when the wealth and prosperity of his Country would, with more propriety, justify his soliciting some additional Compensation. But to him that day did not arrive! He too early fell a Victim to infirmities acquired from serving his Country! And it now remains for his son your Memorialist to ask the Assistance of the Representatives of *that* People, for whose Advantage your Memorialist's father sacrificed Affluence and Ease and finally

his life! whose zeal and perseverance for the Good of America caused him to prefer the public advantage and business over his private Affairs, that nought now remains to satisfy the numerous Demands of British Creditors but the sad and painful Remembrance of his sufferings and his Losses!

Your Memorialist, therefore, humbly prays Congress to consider the Premises and to grant him such Relief, in compensation of his father's services, as they in their Wisdom may deem proper, and as may comport with Justice and Equity.

And your Memorialist as in Duty bound will pray &c —
T. Hutchins.

Philadelphia,
January 18th 1798.

RECORD OF MARRIAGES*

TISBURY, HAVARD, SOUTHBOROUGH, WESTBORO
AND WASHINGTON, D. C., FROM 1806 TO 1860

From Original in Burton Historical Collection.

Record of Marriages

Oct. 5	1806.	Married Mr Manuel Fernands to Miss Polly Reynolds both of Tisbury.
Dec. 25		Married Mr. David Smith to Miss Charlotte Dunham both of Tisbury
Apr. 27	1807	Returned to Town Clerk
Nov. 12	1807	Married Mr James Cleveland of Edgarton to Miss Deborah Reynolds of Tisbury
Apri. 10	1808	Returned to Town Clerk
May. 29	"	Married Mr Jeremiah Manter to Mrs Polly Norton both of Tisbury
Aug. 28	"	Married Mr Thomas Harding to Miss Betsy Baxter both of Tisbury
Nov. 10	"	Married Mr Freeman Norton of Edgarton to Miss Polly Holmes of Tisbury
Dec. 1		Married Mr Nathan Smith to Miss Polly Perkins Dunham both of Tisbury
" 18		Married Mr Charles Dexter to Miss Sally Baxter both of Tisbury

*Thought to be those of a Methodist clergyman.

Feb. 12,	1809	Married Mr Benjamin Dexter to Miss Besty Hillman both of Tisbury
Apr. 21		Returned to Town Clerk
June 21,	1810	Married Mr Peter Joy of Nantucket to Miss Eloisa Dunham of Tisbury
Dec. 9.	"	Married Mr. Edmund Cottle to Mrs. Mary Butler both of Tisbury.
" 20		Married Mr Thomas Smith to Miss Deborah West both of Tisbury
May 28	1811	Returned to Town Clerk
Aug. 1		Married Mr Isaiah D. Pease of Edgarton to Miss Polly Luce of Tisbury
Apr. 7	1812	Returned to Town Clerk
Dec. 15		Married Mr Amos Batchellor of Boxborough to Miss Rachel Whitney of Harvard
May 1	1813	Returned to Town Clerk
Nov. 4		Married Mr. Samuel Felch of Royalston to Mrs Mary Farnsworth of Harvard
Dec. 26	1813	Married Mr William Mann to Mrs Permela Selby both of Harvard
Apr 17	1814	Married Mr Jonas Bateman of Tyngsborough to Miss Harriet Chaffin of Harvard
" 26		Returned to Town Clerk
Nov. 30		Married Mr Jerome Gardner to Miss Sally Boynton Haskell both of Harvard
Apr. 28	1815	Returned to Town Clerk
Oct. 30	1817	Married Mr Joseph Stone 4th. to Miss Mary Bridge both of Harvard
Jan. 15	1818	Married Mr Charles Hersey of Boston to Miss Emily Atherton of Harvard
Apr. 28		Returned to Town Clerk
June 28		Married Mr Andrew Gardner to Miss Eliza Haskell both of Harvard
Nov. 8		Married Mr Calvin Haskell to Miss Anna Hearsy both of Harvard
Nov. 10	1818	Married Mr John Warner Jr. to Miss Sally Gould both of Harvard
May 1	1819	Returned to Clerk
" 27		Married Mr James Burditt of Leominster to Miss Mary Tyler Reed of Harvard
June 10	.	Married Mr Ithamer Willard of Harvard to Miss Lucy Mace of Boxborough
Sept. 12		Married Mr. Caleb Sawyer 2d to Miss Lydia Sprague both of Harvard
Oct. 31		Married Mr Daniel Giles Jr. of New Salem to Miss Submit Warren Davis of Harvard
Apr. 23	1820	Married Mr Hosea Willard to Miss Nancy Reed both of Harvard
May 1		Returned to Town Clerk

- Oct. 8 Married Mr Leonard Rice of Natick to Miss Sophia Houghton of Harvard
- Oct 8 1820 Married Mr Samuel Caldwell of Boxborough to Miss Mary Bacon of Harvard
- Feb. 15 1821 Married Mr Charles Willard to Miss Martha Frost both of Harvard
- May 1 Returned to Town Clerk
- " 3 Married Mr William Taylor Sr. to Miss Mary Wood both of Harvard
- Oct. 10 Married Mr Samuel Walton Burbank of Lancaster to Miss Hannah Ball of Townsend
- Oct. 10 1821 Married Paul Willard Esq. of Charleston to Miss Harriet Whitney of Lancaster
- Dec. 20 Married Mr Elijah Whitney of Upton to Miss Sarah Reed of Harvard
- Feb. 28 1822 Married Mr Nathan Willard of Harvard to Miss Eliza Farwell of Lancaster
- Apr. 12 Returned to Town Clerk
- May 16 Married Dea. Charles Chase Jr of Lancaster to Miss Mary Tyler of Harvard
- Oct. 6 1822 Married Mr Benjamin Hale of Waterford (Me.) to Mrs. Mercy Rand of Harvard
- Jan. 27 1823 Married Mr James Mace of Boxborough to Miss Love Willard of Harvard
- Feb. 4 Married Mr William B. Willard to Miss Abiah W. Harrod both of Harvard
- Apr. 27 Married Mr Jacob Houghton 3d of Bolton to Miss Abigail Warner of Harvard
- " 29 Returned to Town Clerk
- Oct. 1 1823 Married Mr Seth Miller Robbins of Littleton to Miss Elisabeth Bigelow of Harvard
- Nov. 27 Married Mr Levi Farwell of Lancaster to Miss Lucy Willard of Harvard
- Dec. 4 Married Mr Jonathan Haskill of Wilton to Miss Mary Haskell of Harvard
- Apr. 8 1824 Married Mr Charles Raymond to Miss Almira Whitcomb both of Boxborough
- Apr. 28 1824 Returned to Town Clerk
- May 6 Married Mr Salmon Willard Jr. to Mrs Laura Cobb both of Lancaster
- Oct. 31 Married Mr Royal Hildreth of Brattleborough (Vt.) to Miss Adeline Terry of Harvard
- Nov. 28 Married Mr Thomas Wilder to Miss Abigail Parker both of Leominster
- Dec. 8 1824 Married Mr Joseph Joslin Jr. of Jaffrey (N. H.) to Miss Sarah D. Parker of Leominster (Ms.)

Apr.	3	1825	Married Mr Albert Dyar of Lancaster to Miss Mary Atherton of Harvard
"	5		Married Mr. Elias Warner Jr. of Harvard to Miss Mary Ann Lawrence of Bolton
Apr.	14	1825	Returned to T. C. of Leominster
"	16		Returned to Town Clerk of Bolton & Lancaster
June	1	1825	Married Mr Dexter Pratt of Cambridge to Miss Rowena Houghton of Bolton
Apr.	5	1826	Returned to Town Clerk
July	2		Married Mr Isaac Burges of Shirley to Miss Roxalana Barnard of Harvard
Oct.	23		Married Mr Judson Chapin of Roxbury to Miss Roxanna Atherton of Bolton
Jan.	1	1827	Married Mr. Samuel Damon to Miss Rebecca Smith both of Lancaster
April		1827	Returned to Town Clerk of Harvard Lancaster & Bolton
Apr.	21	1828	Married Mr Aaron Burbank of Lancaster Co. of Worcester to Miss Chloe Stevens of Townsend Co. of Middlesex
"	21	1829	Returned to T. C. of Townsend
Apr.	19		Married Mr Daniel Willis to Miss Maria Whitney both of Harvard
"	26		Married Mr Ephriam Warner Jr. to Miss Elisa Grover both of Harvard
Apr.	29	1829	Returned to Town Clerk
May	10		Married Mr Charles Goodale of West Boylston to Miss Sarah Burditt of Lancaster
July	19		Married Mr William Parker to Miss Lucy Reed both of Harvard
Feb.	9	1830	Married Mr Emory Wood of Harvard Wstr. Co. to Miss Miranda Raymond of Littleton Mdx. Co.
June	14		Returned to Town Clerk
Aug.	15	1830	Married Mr. Vernis Streeter to Miss Eliza H. Burditt Both of Lancaster
Dec.	30		Married Mr Abraham Foster to Miss Frances Dwinells both of Harvard
Apr.	7	1831	Married Mr Thomas H Samson of Harvard to Miss Sarah A. Haynes of Bolton
"	27		Returned to Town Clerk of Lancaster Harvard and Bolton
May.	7	1834	Married Mr Dana Flagg to Mrs Nancy Snow both of Southborough
Oct.	26		Married Mr Charles Angier to Miss Harriet Eliza Belknap both of Southborough
Apr.	15	1835	Married in Bolton Mr. Alvarus Lawrence to Miss Delia M. Samson both of Bolton
"	16		Returned to Town C. of Bolton
"	28		Returned to Town Clerk

- May 20 1835 Married in Southborough Mr. Alanson Chamberlain to Miss Ann Amsden both of Southborough
- June 18 Married in Southborough Mr Alexander W. Wendell to Miss Martha Collins both of Southborough
- Dec. 3 Married in Southborough Mr Martin Newton of Framingham to Miss Almira Fay of Southborough
- Apr. 30 1836 Returned to Town Clerk
- May 1 1836 Married in Southborough Mr Lowell Brigham to Miss Harriett Newell Williams both of Southborough
- " 8 Married in Southborough Mr Edwin Taylor Fay to Miss Susan Fay both of Southborough
- July 14 Married in Southborough Mr Elijah Flagg Sr. of Westborough to Miss Sarah E. Fales of Shewsbury
- " 16 Returned to Town Clerk of Westborough
- July 26 1836 Married in Southborough Mr Lyman Farwell of St. Louis (Missouri) to Miss Elisa Ann Adams of Southborough
- Oct. 19 Married in Southborough Mr John Warren Buck to Miss Betsy Champney Brigham both of Southborough
- Dec. 1 Married in Southborough Mr Lincoln Newton to Miss Sophia Newton both of Southborough
- Dec. 25 1836 Married in Southborough Mr. Jonathan Winchester to Miss Harriet A Wheeler Both of Southborough.
- Apr. 20 1837 Married in Southborough Mr. George W. Parker of Westborough to Miss Eusebia Sophia Orion of Southborough.
- 27 Returned to Town Clerk of Southborough.
- May 3 Married in Southborough Mr Jacob Collins to Miss Betey Goodnow both of Southborough.
- Jan. 1 1838 Married in Southborough Mr. Emory Bannister of Worcester to Miss Mary Ann Whiting of Southborough.
- 22 Married in Southborough Mr Tobias R. Hall of Hopkinton to Miss Hannah M. Temple of Southborough.
- Apr. 4 Married in Southborough Mr Emory Brigham Fay, to Miss Almira Alton Adams both of Southborough.
- 30 Returned to Town Clerk of Southborough.
- May 28 1838 Married in Southborough Mr James Williams to Miss Harriot Brigham both of Southborough.

Oct. 3		Married in Southborough Mr. Joseph Millen Onthank to Mrs Mary Jones both of Southborough.
Jan. 8	1839	Married in Southborough Dea. Samuel Morse 2d of Hopkinton to Miss Deborah Parker of Southborough.
Apr. 10	1839	Married in Southborough Mr. John Haven Barber to Mrs. Sally Newton both of Southborough.
Apr. 18		Returned to Town Clerk of Southborough.
May 1		Married in Southborough Mr Dana Brigham to Mrs Susan Amsdem both of Southborough
Mar. 22	1840	Married in Southborough Mr. Elijah Bemis Jr. to Miss Susan E. Newton both of Southborough.
Apr. 4	1840	Returned to Town Clerk of Southborough.
Apr. 26		Married in Southborough Mr. Emerson N. Onthank to Miss Ann Eliza Williams both of Southborough.
May 19		Married in Southborough Mr Jonathan Works to Mary Annets both of Southborough.
May 20		Married in Southborough Mr. Josiah Lawrence of Lancaster to Mrs. Relief Annetts of Southborough.
June 26	1840	Returned to Town Clerk of Southborough.
Dec. 23d	1846	Married in Washington D. C. Mr John Blagden to Miss Mary Craft.
Aug. 30th	1849	Married in Washington D. C. Mr. James T. Rives & Lucinda Rives.
Oct. 28th		Married in Washington D. C. Mr. John D. Hammack to Miss Cynthia A. Dodson.
Nov. 1st		Married in Washington D. C. Mr. John E. Chappell & Miss Sarah Walford.
Nov. 15	1853	Married in Washington D. C. Mr. Samuel H. Donaldson to Miss Mary Berry.
May 4th	1854	Married in Washington D. C. Mr Benjamin Rodgers to Miss Mary Ann Spencer.
Sept. 11th		Married in Washington D. C. Lewis Gridley to Rachel Kilbright.
Oct. 25th	1855	Married in Washington D. C. James Fadely to Virginia Gray.
Nov. 1st		Married in Washington D. C. George W. Clarke to Huldah C. Hutchinson.
Jan 8	1856	Married in Washington D. C. Mr. Mason Brewer to Miss Hannah Kirkpatrick.
Apr. 17th		Married in Washington D. C. Mr. James W. Sarten & Miss Mary Ellen Kane
June 9th		Married in Washington D. C., Mr. John T. Johnson & Miss Eliza B. Lerner (Larner)
June 27		Married Mr. Wm. Jewell to Miss Martha Middleton

Oct. 22	Married Mr. Geo. E. Taylor to Miss Ann Eliza Garner.
Feb. 24 1857	Married Richard V. Hobson & Miss Laura J. Bosley.
May 7th 1857	Married Napoleon Buonaparte Jones & Mary Ann Sorrell.
Oct. 27, 1857	Married William W. Owner and Mary S. Wilkerson
Jan. 14, 1858.	Married James Thomas Gorham and Julia Ann Deavers.
Sept. 24, 1858	Married John W. Miller to Mary Ann Cox.
Nov. 18th 1860	James T. Schekels & Louisa Eliseth Ring Married.

DOCUMENTS ON EARLY INDIANA HISTORY

(Continued from page 79)

William H. Harrison to Henry Dearborn

Photostat—Original in War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 10th July 1805.

Sir:

General Gibson and Col. Vigo returned a few days since:—
Inclosed herewith is the report of their proceedings.

If the Indians should come to this place as they have promised you need be under no apprehension of having the affair of the Delaware Treaty settled to the satisfaction of the President

A person situated as Mr. Wells is might have thwarted the measure of the Government for years without being detected, but altho possessed of a good deal of cunning he has so entangled himself in the mazes of his own intrigues that he cannot move without making disclosures that are fatal to him. I could freely forgive him for the past if there was any security for his future good conduct—but I believe that he is still doing his utmost to prevent a favorable issue to the proposed Conference with the Indians. The visit of the five Medals to Mississiniway with a keg of whiskey given him by Wells was for no other purpose than to counteract General Gibson & Col. Vigo or to procure the signatures of the Indians to the recommendation of Wells which the Miami chief refused to sign at Fort Wayne.

Being fully persuaded that firmness & decision are absolutely necessary in every transaction with Indians I shall state to them in the most explicit manner that the United States are determined to keep possession of the land ceded by the Delawares & Piankeshaws Treaties as they are fully satisfied as well of the fairness of the transaction as of the right of

those tribes to sell. If we receded one inch these people will be never satisfied until they have gained the ell. A respectable citizen of the state of Ohio came to this place a few days ago and informed me that in his journey he had stoped at a camp of Delawares with one of whom who spoke english he had a long conversation respecting the Treaty. The Indians informed him that some of the chiefs of the other tribes were very angry with the Delawares for selling the lands without including them & the Delaware Chief had been informed that if they would deny having made the Treaty a new one would be made and a much larger consideration given. He further observed that the chiefs were very much laughed at by some of the white people in their country for having sold so valuable a country for so contemptable a sum. I am convinced that a certain Connor* and one Audrain who trade with the Delawares have acted as Wells's Agents in this affair and this is also the opinion of Col. Vigo (General Gibson however thinks otherwise with regard to Connor who he says behaved very well when he was at the Delaware Towns.) They have both very advantageous contracts from Wells for making rails for the Indians. Audrain altho established within a few miles of the Falls of Ohio has found it to his advantage to undertake the making of rails at the Turtle's Town north of Fort Wayne. The chiefs of the Mississiniway Miamis complained to Col. Vigo that they do not receive a proper proportion of the annuities of their tribes altho they compose two thirds of the Tribe they received this year but \$400. In short Sir I am really of opinion that the Turtle, the Five Medals & two or three other receive much the greater part of the annuities & provisions which are intended for & said to be given to the Putawatimies & Miamies & I am by no means certain that Wells himself does not largely participate. The fact is admitted that he makes more money than any man in the Territory. Mr. Johnston told Col. Vigo that he cleared last year upwards of \$6000. How he can do this honestly I am at a loss to know. I think this that measures ought to be taken to Controle his vicious inclinations or to remove him from office & from the Indian Country—

I had determined to inform him of the suspicions which had arisen against him & to order him to come to this place for the purpose of the explaining his conduct, but thought it best to delay it until I could receive your instructions. If an

*This is probably John Connor, son of Richard Connor of Maryland, who was born while his father and mother were in captivity among the Shawanese. When Richard and his wife were delivered up by the Shawanese in 1774 John was not brought forward. The older Connors lived for a time at Schoenbrunn's mission while making an effort to find their son John. They finally ransomed him for whiskey and brought him to the Moravians to be educated by Zeisberger. The older Connors followed the Moravians and finally settled in Michigan. John became an interpreter and served in many of the Indian treaties during this period. (Historic Events in the Muskingum and Tuscarawas Valleys, Dayton, 1876, pp. 184-185.)

enquiry should be made into his conduct I must beg leave to recommend that General Wilkinson may assist at it, it will be very little trouble for the General to come over to this place for a few days & I am satisfied the trip would not be disagreeable to him.

If the management of the Indian Department is replaced upon the footing of your general instructions of the 23rd. of February 1802, i e that all the Agents & Sub Agents should be immediately accountable to & make their reports to the Superintendant Alone I will answer with my Head to execute every wish of the President's relative to the Indians in this quarter.

I have understood that it was intended to sell immediately the United States land around Fort Wayne I am very certain However that the money which will be put into the Treasury by the sale of it will not counterbalance the inconveniences which will arise from having it settled with the discription of people who will naturally buy it— It is too far removed from our other settlements to entice American farmers to go there but the few sections that are sold will be purchased by the Indian Traders & we shall thus have in the Heart of the Indian country, a number of the unprincipled people who will be entirely out of the reach of the laws of the United States regulating the trade & intercourse with the Indian tribes. If the immediate settlement of it is an object I think it would be better to sell it by contract upon the condition that there should be within a given time a certain number of American farmers upon it.

Patterson, the Delaware, who made the speech to Wells was present at every conference pending the treaty and also at the Signing of it & he understands English as well as his native tongue. George White Eyes,* one of the chiefs, who signed the Treaty also speaks English—indeed there are few Delawares that do not understand something of it.

Before this letter comes to Hand you will have heard of the dreadful conflagration at Detroit†; one-third of the factory goods were destroyed & they would all have been burned if Mr. Munroe‡ had not been more attentive to them than to his own property of which he lost the whole.

*George White Eyes, a Delaware chief who signed the treaty of 1804 as Alimee and the treaty of 1805 as Alline. The name appears to have been quite popular among the Delawares. Dr. Lyman C. Draper of the *Wisconsin Historical Society* wrote Col. John Johnson upon this point and received the following information dated Cincinnati, O., Dec. 1, 1850: "White Eyes was always a popular name among the Delawares for some of their chiefs and councillors. All who bore the name originated from him of Revolutionary times. During no period of their history was the name extinct."

†Detroit was burned June 11, 1805. (Governor and Judges Journal, Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit, 1915.)

‡Robert Munroe wrote a vivid account of this fire to Harrison. The letter is printed in *Farmer's History of Detroit and Michigan*, Vol. 1, p. 490.

I received some time since a letter from the Factor at Fort Wayne enclosing a certificate of several officers who were called upon to examine the public goods— they report that a considerable number of those which have lately been sent on were entirely damaged & that many of them were altogether unfit for the Indian Trade—The Piankeshaw & Weas annuities which I received this spring were also in a most wretched state a considerable portion of those for the latter were actually rotten in consequence of their being sent on in boxes instead of tight casks—Under present circumstances I thought it proper to make the chiefs some retribution in saddles etc., & to the principal I gave an elegant Rifle—these presents & the kind treatment they received had such a effect upon them that I am persuaded they would have done anything I required—parties were dispatched in all directions to bring in stolen Horses & the persons who went in pursuit of them had orders from the chiefs to bring the Horses or the scalps of those who took them—The presents of these people & those to the two large parties of the Kickapoos of the Prairie, who visited me in the latter part of the winter has advanced the half yearly contingent account a few Hundred Dollars higher than usual. The money has not however been misapplied. Mr. Wells very improperly retained the Kickapoos annuity & writes to me that he will send for that Tribe at Fort Wayne & justifies himself by informing me that by your orders the annuities for the Kickapoos would be sent to Chicago in future, I have however directed them to send them here from a conviction that he wanted them at Fort Wayne for no other purpose than to obtain their remonstrance also against the Delaware Treaty.

The first representative legislature of the Indiana Territory will meet in a fortnight. I shall do everything in my power to get them to inhibit the Sale of Ardent Spirits to the Indians.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect and Esteem, Sir Your Hum. Servt.,

Willm. Henry Harrison.

P. S. I have opened my letter to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 20th ultimo (that of the 11th had been previously received & Mr. Wells instructed accordingly) the greater part of the paragraphs in the papers respecting combinations of the Indians are mere fabrications—the Sacs & the Southern Indians have attempted to form a grand confederation against the Osages, & the Delawares & Shawanes of Cape Gerards have acceded to it. I believe however that none of the tribes in the territory have engaged in it. The subject has engaged

my attention & shall not be neglected. I shall consult with Genrl. Wilkinson as you have directed.

The Honble.,
Henry Dearborn.
Secy. of War.

John Gibson and Vigo to Governor Harrison

Photostat—Original in War Department, Washington, D. C.

Sir:

In pursuance of the instructions we received from your Excellency, we proceeded to the Indian Towns on the Wabash River, on our road we passed the Town of the Eell river Indians at the river of Le Rabellaire,* they were all drunk, excepting one of their chiefs named Sam,† we told him we wished to speak to him and the other Chiefs, he replied that they were all drunk. But as they intended going to Fort Wayne in a few days to receive their annuity they would at that place, hear what we had to say to them. We then proceeded to the town of Massasinwa on the Wabash River, where we saw The Five Medals, a chief of the Potawatamies, we informed him of the nature of our Mission in the words as delivered to the Council at Fort Wayne, he then informed us he intended going to detroit in a few days but that another Chief of his tribe woud goe to Vincennes, agreeably to your request. At this place we saw the Pakaunan, Hibou or the Owl, two of the chiefs of the Miamies and heads of this Village the latter of whom was very sick, we informed them we were sent by you and wish to speak to them, they informed us one of their Chief Pussiwa or Richardville was gone to Fort Wayne and as they intended going to that place in a few days, they woud at that place hear what we had to say to them.

At this place I parted from Col. Vigo and proceeded to the delaware towns on White River, previous to my arrival there I heard of the Death of the Great Chief and Warrior Bokongehalas, I informed Telabuxika the other Chief of the Delaware that I was sent by you and that I had a message to deliver to them from you and requested them to send for the other Chiefs. The next day the chiefs assembled, except

*Le Rabellaire possibly the Erablières river, a small stream indicated on John Cary's map of 1805, near the Vermillion and flowing into the Wabash.

†Delaware Treaty, Aug. 21, 1805, gives Sam or Metausauner.

Kechlawhenund* or William Anderson whose wife Being dead prevented his coming, when I addressed them and informed them that you were very sorry to hear that they the Delawares had denied that they had sold any Lands to the United States last summer, and that you (with my assistance) had defrauded and cheated them. I then repeated every transaction that took place at the Treaty and told them that they had in the most fair and Solemn manner sold the Lands last summer to the United States and that the Treaty had been ratified by the President and Senate of the United States and that their denying it was of no Effect and would only make them appear in a ridiculous Light in the Eyes of all the Nations and would lessen them very much in the great Esteem and respect the United States had for them. I also told them White Eyes, one of their chiefs who had signed the Treaty, had told their young men that they the Chiefs had sold the lands to the United States and the Chiefs were afraid to own it. I then asked them for the copy of the Treaty which was given to them at Vincennes last summer. They informed me that they had left it in the hands of Mr. Wells at Fort Wayne, and they said they would council together and speak to me. Soon after they sent for me when Telabuxika delivered this answer:—We did not sell any lands to the United States last summer at Vincennes, the Goods we received there was Condolance present, and pay for horses which your people stole from us, he Trembled and appeared very much agitated and confused whilst speaking, he said they were going to Fort Wayne in a few days to receive their annuity and that on their return they would pay you a visit. I then spoke to them again and told them that I was sorry to find they had denied the Truth, that they had known me many Years, and I never deceived them and that as several of their people understood English very well, it was impossible for me as Interpreter to deceive them. I told them the Bounds of the Lands was first pointed out to them by me on paper, viz the road leading from Vincennes to Clarksville, the White River, the Ohio, and the Wabash river, and repeatedly explained by me to them, and that the Governor had in the presence of the Witnesses who signed the Treaty explained it to them. I then told them I would go to Fort Wayne as they had left the

*Kechlawhenund or William Anderson (Capt. Anderson) was one of the principal Delaware chiefs and signed many of their treaties. His name appears Kikthawenund on Wayne's treaty in 1795 and at other times Kicktohenina, Kithuweland, Kith-teeleland. On Sept. 24, 1829, he was the principal chief to sign a Delaware treaty by which the Delawares signified their readiness to be removed beyond the Mississippi to a reservation at the fork of the Kansas and Missouri rivers. (Indian Affairs. Treaties compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler, Washington, 1904.) *The Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part I, p. 57*, gives Anderson's town, a former Delaware village on the south side of the White River, about the present Anderson, Madison County, Ind., named from the principal chief of the Delawares of Indiana about 1810-1820.

Treaty there and would speak to them again at that place, after the council a Number of their principal Warriors and Young Men came to me, they said that they were sorry that their Chiefs had behaved so foolishly as to deny the Truth and that they were Convinced they had sold the Land and were afraid to own it, that White Eyes had told them so, and they also said that the Little Turtle and Wells had said the sum specified in the Treaty was a mere nothing and that they were Cheated and Imposed on—I then set off for Fort Wayne, on the road I was joined by Hockingpomskan one of the Chiefs who signed the Treaty, in conversation he told me that they had sold the Land, that he intended going to Vincennes to settle every thing with the Governor. I joined Col. Vigo at Fort Wayne, after the Indians arrived we held a council with them, the Minutes of which we marked (a) previous to the council I called on Mr. Wells and asked him for the Copy of the Treaty, I then spoke to the Delawares who were present. showed them the Treaty, pointed out the Bounds of the Land they had sold, and I told them that when the Council met I intended to mention it to them. The Delawares requested me not to mention it in Council as everything would be settled when they came to Vincennes, Pakaun and Richardville two of the Miami chiefs came to Col. Vigo and me and informed us that as soon as Richardville returned from Detroit which would be twenty-five days, that they would set out for Vincennes.

The Little Turtle came to us and informed us that since he saw us in council they had agreed to set off for Vincennes in 25 days. He went over the river the same night to Mr. Wells, in the Morning he returned and demanded our Instructions. I told him mine were verbal from you, that I was an officer of the Government which he well knew and that Col. Vigo and myself would not dare to say anything unless we had been sent by you. Shortly after I rec'd the letter marked (B) from Mr. Wells, the Miamis mentioned in the letter had set off early in the Morning and we believe knew nothing of the letter and we think the same was fabricated by the Little Turtle and Wells—at the Time I explained the Treaty to the Delawares at Fort Wayne Mr. Wells was present, he spoke to the Delawares and told them that they need not be afraid to own that they had sold the Land, as they the Delawares had only sold their right, and that it could not effect the claim of the other Indians. I then asked Mr. Wells whether he recollected Bokongehalas in the presence of the Potawatamie Chiefs, 2 years ago, having informed you that the Pakaun,* the Owl, Chiefs of the Miamies, and the Chiefs

*Pakaun, Pacan, Pecan, a Miami chief who in early manhood rescued Capt. Thomas Morris from torture by the Indians in 1764 and delivered a stirring speech in behalf of the English in 1781. He signed the treaty of Greenville, as also the treaties of 1805, 1809, 1814 and 1815. (Wis. Hist. Soc. Proceed. 1914, p. 223.)

of the Eell river Indians had confirmed the Claim of the delawares to the Lands which was given to them by the Piankshaws, and that he shewed the Wampun delivered on the occasion. Mr. Wells replied he did not recollect it. On Colo. Vigo's arrival at Fort Wayne he went to see Lieut. Bronson* the Commanding Officer. Mr. Wells came in and he Col. Vigo mentioned he was sorry for the death of Bokongehalas the Delaware Chief, as he was a great Man and that he would be much Missed by his Nation, at the same time he said it was a pity he had tarnished his Character by telling a Lye in denying his having Sold the Lands to the United States. Mr. Wells replied and said, he dare say the Lands were fairly sold and that if he Bokongehalas had told a Lie, it was Lie of necessity. Shortly after Lieut. Bronson remarked in Convention that Mr. Wells had altered his tone very much that he Lieut. Bronson had heard Wells repeatedly say the Indians were very imposed on at the Late treaty at Vincennes. Monsieur Richardville in Conversation informed Col. Vigo that when they were receiving their annuity Mr. Wells addressed the Miamies and advised them to stick together and keep their right, that he Wells if he was a Miamie would do so; afterwards Richardsville in conversation told Col. Vigo that he was much Supprised to hear an officer who had taken an oath to Support the Government of the United States express himself in the manner Wells had done. Mr. Johnson the Factor of the United States at Fort Wayne informed us that Mr. Wells had repeatedly said that the Indians would never approve of the Treaty of last Summer and he, Mr. Johnson, as well as every other Gentlemen with whom we conversed with at that place, were of the opinion that there never would have been any noise about the Treaty had it not been occasioned by the Little Turtle and Wells. On our meeting the Five Medals at Massasinawa, we asked him if he had Come from his Village, he replied that he came from Fort Wayne with a Cag of Whiskey, which he got from Mr. Wells, the Indians all got drunk at that Village on our seeing Richardville at Fort Wayne we mentioned it to him, he said he was much Supprised that Wells would give Liquor to other Indians to make his people drunk, when he Wells would not even suffer him to take a single Bottle for his own use, and had seized Liquor Belonging to the Owl, which he was Bringing from detroit. The Indian Chiefs will certainly Come at the Time they promised unless they are prevented by the Little Turtle and Wells, whom we Believe will do every thing in

*This was John Brownson, who was appointed ensign June 27, 1804, in the 1st U. S. Infantry and came to Fort Wayne not long after. According to *Powell's List of Officers of the U. S. Army, 1776-1900*, he received his promotions as follows: 2nd lieutenant, January, 1807; 1st lieutenant, Dec. 8, 1808; captain, Jan. 31, 1814; was honorably discharged June 15, 1815.

their power to prevent their coming. We Beg further to add as our own opinion that no Noise or Clamour respecting the Treaty last summer with the Delawares at this place would have been made had it not been occasioned by the Little Turtle and Wells, the latter of whom seems more attached to the Indians than the people of the United States. In the Several Towns which we passed thro, the Indians although drunk, in almost every one of them Behaved in the most friendly manner to us, and Never once mentioned the Treaty or any thing respecting it.

Richardville, also informed us that the little Turtle in the presence of Wells, produced a paper and requested Richardville to sign it.

Being a Remonstrance to the president of the United States in favour of Mr. Wells, he Richardville refused to sign it saying that if Mr. Wells had Behaved well, there was no occasion for to write to the president in his favour, that he did not wish to interfere in Matters which Belonged intirely to the White People and that he the Little Turtle had frequently wrote letters to the president, without their Being Consulted or asked to sign them.

We have the Honour to be very respectfully your Excellency's most obedient and Very humble Servant.

Jno. Gibson,
Vigo.

Vincennes July 6th, 1805

In passing thro several of the Indian Towns we heard of a Speech or Talk which was said to be sent to the Indians by the British, the purport of which was in addressing them:

My Children—

I promised that when ever I heard any thing relating to you I woud inform you, I have been traveling thro a great many nations, I see a great Storm rising in the South, which may affect you.

My Children,

I desire you not be alarmed, Plant your Corn and do not quit your Towns, But keep your Guns ready in your hands.

Mr. Wells shewed us a speech which he said was sent to the Indians by Capt. McKee* at Malden, but of this we hear no

*Capt. Alexander McKee, Indian agent for the British and located at Fort Malden, was a native of Pennsylvania. During the Revolution he was held prisoner at Fort Pitt but managed to make his escape together with Simon Girty and Matthew Elliot. He was employed by Hamilton to go among the Indians at Sandusky with messages and presents. He rose to prominence in the British service and attained the rank of colonel. His son Thomas married a daughter of John Askin. (Mich. Pion. Colls.)

thing of amongst the Indians, and we are inclined to think it was fabricated by himself.

Jno. Gibson.
Vigo.

His Excellency
Governor Harrison.

William Henry Harrison to Henry Dearborn

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 10th August 1805.

Sir:—

I am now surrounded by the chiefs of the Delaware, Miami & Eel River Tribes—a part of the Putawatimies have also arrived and others are every moment expected.

The Delawares have explicitly acknowledge the Treaty they made here the last year in the presence of a number of respectable characters whom I assembled for the purpose and will do so in the general council that will take place upon the arrival of the Putawatimies.

Captn. Wells and the Turtle are both here and I have received from each a positive assurance of a friendly disposition as well towards the Government as myself individually. With Captn. Wells I have had an explanation and have agreed to a general indemnity & act of oblivion for the past. I hope that this *treaty* will be ratified by you. I am convinced that both him & the Turtle* will exert themselves to bring the present conference to a happy issue.

I have the Honor to be with perfect respect.

Your Humbl. Servt.,
WILLM. HENRY HARRISON.

The Honble.
The Secry. of War.

*The treaty was signed by the Turtle and others in the presence of Wells and others, Aug. 21, 1805.

An Act for Prohibiting the Sale of Ardent Spirits or Other Intoxicating Liquors to the Indians

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Section 1:

Be it enacted by the Legislative Council, and House of Representatives, and it is hereby enacted by the Authority of the same that from the date hereof, it shall and may be lawful for the Governor of this Territory, and he is hereby authorized and Empowered during the Sitting of any Council, or holding any public Treaty or Conference, with any Indian Nation or Tribe, to prohibit by proclamation the sale, or other disposition of any ardent Spirits, or other intoxicating liquors, to any Indian or Indians, by any person or persons, for any purpose, or under any pretense whatsoever, within thirty miles of the place of holding such Council Treaty or Conference.

Section 2:

Be it Enacted that if any person shall not strictly observe whatever restrictions may be imposed under the authority aforesaid he, she, or they, so offending shall on conviction by indictment or presentment, be fined in a sum not exceeding Five Hundred Dollars nor less than Fifty Dollars. And in case of inability to pay the find with costs shall be imprisoned not more than six months, nor less than three months.

JESSE B. THOMAS,* Speaker of House
of the Representatives,
P. MENARD,† President Pro Tempore
of the Legislative Council.

Approved 6th August 1805.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON.

Secretary's office Vincennes Sept. 6th 1805.

I do certify that the above act is a true Copy of the Original Act deposited in this office.

JNO. GIBSON, Secrety.

*Jesse B. Thomas, one of the first Illinois Territorial judges, was born in Hagartown, Md., in 1777, and died at Mount Vernon, Ohio, May 4, 1853. He was a member of the Territorial Assembly of Indiana in 1805 and speaker of the House. In 1808 he was elected U. S. Senator and served with Ninian Edwards. He was appointed one of the judges of Illinois Territory when that territory was set off from Indiana in 1809. He was author of the famous legislation known as the Missouri Compromise. He was chairman of convention which adopted the Illinois Constitution in 1818. During his second term in the legislature he married the widow of Maj. John Francis Hamtramck. (Publications of the Historical Library, Illinois 1904. No. 9, page 514.)

†Pierre Menard was born Oct. 7, 1760, at St. Antoine, Lower Canada, son of Jean B. Menard, dit Brindamour and Marie Francoise Cirre dit St. Michel. During the Revolution his father joined the American forces and fought under Montgomery at Quebec. In 1788 Pierre Menard was at Post Vincennes acting as clerk for Mons. Vigo. In 1789 he accompanied Vigo to Carlisle, Pa., where they had an interview with Pres. Washington in relation to the defense of the western frontier. Later he went to Kaskaskia, where in 1792 he married Therese Godin. His second wife was Angeline Saucier, whom he married in 1806. He held many positions of trust and honor, and died June 13, 1844. Two of his brothers, Hypolite and Jean, came to Kaskaskia to live. (Early Chicago and Illinois, Chicago Hist. Soc. Colls. IV.)

An Act to Prohibit the Giving or Selling Intoxicating Liquors to the Indians

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Whereas many Abuses dangerous to the Lives, peace and property of the good Citizens of the Territory, and derogatory to the Dignity of the United States, have arisen, by the reason of Traders, and other persons, furnishing Spirituous, and other Intoxicating Liquors, to the Indians inhabiting this Territory, for remedy whereof,

Section 1:

Be it Enacted by the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same.

That if any Trader, or other person whomsoever residing in, coming into, or passing through the said Territory, or any part thereof, shall presume to furnish, vend, sell or give: or shall direct or procure to be furnished, vended sold or given, upon any account whatever, to any Indian or Indians, or nation or tribe of Indians being within the Territory, or waters adjoining to, or Bounding the same, any Rum, Brandy, Whiskey or other intoxicating Liquors, or drink, he, she, they, so offending, shall on Conviction by presentment, or indictment, forfeit and pay for every such offence, any sum, not exceeding one hundred dollars, nor less than five dollars, to the use of the Territory. Provided that nothing herein Contained shall be taken or Constructed to impare, or Weaken the powers and authority, that now are, or at any time hereafter may be vested in the Governor, or other persons as Superintendant, or agent of Indian affairs, or Commissioner plenipotentiary for Treating with Indians.

This act shall commence and be in force, when and as soon as the Governor of this Territory shall be officially notified that the States of Kentucky, and Ohio, and the Territories of Louisiana, and Michigan have passed, or shall pass Laws, for prohibiting the sale, or gift of intoxicating Liquors to Indians within their respective States and Territories. And it shall continue in force so long as the said acts made, or to be made in the said States, or Territories, shall continue in force therein. The Governor of the Territory is requested to transmit Copies of this Law to the

Governors of the several States and Territories, above mentioned.

JESSE B. THOMAS Speaker of the
House of Representatives.

P. MENARD president pro Tempore
of the Council.

Approved August 15th 1805.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON.

Secretary's office Vincennes Sept. 6th 1805.*

I do certify the above, is a true Copy of the original act deposited in this office.

JNO. GIBSON, Secretary.

William Henry Harrison to Henry Dearborn

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 16th Sept. 1805.

Sir:—

After the condition of the late Treaty had been agreed upon finding that the Delawares were not well pleased with the conduct of the Miamies I made an attempt to induce the latter to give up to the U. S. a tract of about 400,000 acres adjoining to, and west of the line running from the mouth of the Kentucky River to Fort Recovery & *above* the line which is to run from the Vincennes tract to the last mentioned line, upon condition that the United States should change the annuity which the Delawares are to receive for ten years into a permanent one. This proposition gave much pleasure to the Delawares & was agreed to by the other tribes, but when the Treaty was prepared for signing, one of the principal chiefs refused to sign until that article was expunged & prevailed upon a majority of the others to accept his opinion. The Delawares indignant at this Treatment declared an intention of removing altogether from the neighborhood of the Miamies & joining the part of their tribe that reside on the west bank of the Mississippi—They would not agree that any part of the money which by the Treaty of August 1804 was to be appropriated to the purpose of Ameliorating their condition should be laid out in improvements where they now reside. I was therefore obliged to give them the two sums of 300\$ for the five & ten year annuity & the sums which was to have been laid out in horses, cattle etc., in cash & have drawn on you three

*In the *American State Papers, Indian Affairs I*, p. 701, is a letter from Harrison to Dearborn, dated Vincennes, Aug. 26, 1805, giving in detail his difficulties with the Indians previous to this time.

several drafts for these sums, one of \$300 in favor of Mr. Wallace* & the other two in favor of Mr. Bullit. Inclosed herewith is the receipt of the Deleawares for the aggregate amount \$1000.

The four thousand dollars given by the late treaty was divided in the following manner—To the Delawares \$1000. to the Miamis \$1000. the Putawatimies \$1000. & to the Eel River & the Weas Tribes 500 each. The Delawares, Miamis and Eel River Tribes received the whole of their proportion & the Putawatimies 700 of theirs from the factory at Fort Wayne & I have drawn on you in favor of Mr. Johnston for the aggregate amount \$3200. The 500\$ for the Weas & the ballance of the \$300. for the Putawatimies were paid here & a draft given for the former to Mr. Bullit & for the latter to Mr. Dubois.† I have also drawn two other bills in favor of Mr. Bullit one for the \$600 & one for \$150 to cover the contingent expenses of the Treaty which have been greater than usual for two reasons first—from the necessity there was (to prevent Jealousy) for treating many of the other chiefs with same indulgence that the Turtle & Richardville had long enjoyed, & 2ndly. from my being obliged to trust entirely to Mr. Wells & Barion‡ on account of indisposition. As soon as the accounts are collected they shall be forwarded.

I shall set out on the 25th instant for St. Louis accompanied by the chiefs who compose the Deputation appointed to meet the Osages.

I have the honor to enclose herewith copies of two laws that were passed by the Legislature of the Territory at their late session, I exerted myself to procure the passage of a law confining the Indian trade entirely to their own country but the Legislature were unwilling to go so far. I am persuaded that *a letter* from you to the Executives of the neighboring States & Territories would greatly expedite the passage of a law forbidding the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians.

The reason assigned by the Legislature for passing the law with the condition of its not taking effect until a similar one was passed by our neighbours, was that it would be of little benefit to the Indians to prohibit their getting liquor here if they could obtain it going into a neighbouring state or territory & by return-

*George Wallace and William Bullit were both on the first board of trustees of Vincennes University. (Early Chicago and Illinois.)

†Toussaint Dubois, son of Jean Baptist duBois and his wife Euphrayse, came with his parents and brothers at an early date to the Wabash River, where they located on "Dubois Hill." Toussaint became a merchant and established stores at Vincennes, Kaskaskia and Cahokia, associating himself with Pierre Menard and Francis Vigo. He became a man of considerable wealth and owned a vast estate. Toussaint and his father were among the first to join the American cause. He was highly esteemed by Harrison and because of his knowledge of the Indians was very valuable. He served in the War of 1812 and attained the rank of major. He was drowned while attempting to cross the Little Wabash, March 11, 1816. (Journal of Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. 5, pp. 50-65.)

‡Joseph Barron signed and interpreted several treaties for Harrison.

ing with it into this territory, our citizens would suffer all the inconvenience of their drunkenness, without the advantage of their trade.

I have the honor to be with great respects and consideration,
Sir your Humble Servt.,

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON.

The Honble,
Henry Dearborn, Esqr.
Secry. of War.

Accounts of George Wallace Jr. & Co.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

The United States

To Geo Wallace Junior & Co., Dr. for the following articles furnish George White Eyes a Delaware by order of Gov. Harrison.

Vizt.

1805.

Sept. 9th	To Castor Hat.....@	36/—	1.16.0
" "	" ¾ yd. Superfine buff cloth.....@	36/—	1. 7.0
" "	" 1 Silk Shawl.....@	12/—	0.12.0
	Cash paid Daniel Blaik for making suit of clothes		2. 2.0

Virginia Currency — 5.17.0

The United States.

To Geo Wallace Junior & Co., for the following article furnish Lapoussier* a Weautenau Chief by order of Governor Harrison.

Vizt.

1805.

Sept. 20—	To 37 yds. Superfine blue cloth.....@	42/—	7. 7.0
" "	" ¾ yd Ditto buff ditto.....@	36/—	1. 7.0
" "	" 1 Tent furnish for three chiefs...@	15\$	4.10.0
" "	Cash paid Daniel Blaik for making suit of clothes		2. 2.0
" "	" 1 Castor hat.....@	6\$	1.16.0
" "	" 1 Cotten Shawl 6/— 2 scalping knives....	@ 2/3	0.10.6

Virginia Currency — 17.12.6

*LaPoussier, Lapoussier. Ashenonqua in the Miami dialect, signifying the Speech Maker, the Persuader, or Talker, was a leading orator of the Weas and lived in a village on the east side of the Wabash below Lafayette and above Attica, Ind. His name appears in several forms signed to early treaties—Laboussier, Lapoussier, Labossiere and Assonnonquah. He made a speech in general council at Fort Wayne, Sept. 4, 1811, in answer to Wm. H. Harrison. (Harrison's Aborigines of the Ohio Valley. Fergus Hist. Series, No. 26, p. 65.)

The United States.

To Geo. Wallace Junior & Co., Dr. for the following articles furnish Winnemac* a Putowatome Chief by order of Governor Harrison. Vizt.

1805.

Sept. 27th To 1 Man Saddle.....\$15— 4.10.0

William Henry Harrison to Henry Dearborn

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

St. Louis, 18th Oct. 1805.

Sir:—

I beg leave to repeat to you by Captn. Stoddard† what I have before communicated that his whole conduct whilst acting as civil commandant of Upper Louisiana was as far as I can judge extremely proper & upright & such as in my opinion greatly contributed to destroy the prejudices which existed in this country prior to the cession against our country and countrymen.

I Have the Honor to be with perfect respect.

Sir Your, Humbl. Servt.,

WILLM. H. HARRISON.

Honble.

Henry Dearborn, Esq.,

Secry. of War.

William Henry Harrison to Henry Dearborn

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 29th November 1805.

Sir:—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favours of the 2nd September and 11th October. In the former you observe that the sums of seventy-eight dollars paid to Abraham Brinker for a horse stolen by the Delawares was to be taken

*Winnemac, Winemack, Wenamech, a distinguished Potawatomic war chief opposed to Tecumseh and the Prophet. He visited Washington many times after the Revolution. He was always openly friendly to the Americans and signed the treaty of 1803. He died in the summer of 1821. (Thatcher's Indian Biography, Vol. II, p. 214.)

†Amos Stoddard, 1762-1813, served in the Revolution and practiced law in the east. On June 1, 1798, he was appointed captain of artillery and in 1804 was governor of the Territory of Missouri. He was promoted to major in 1807 and deputy quartermaster in 1812. At the siege of Fort Meigs he received a mortal wound. He was the author of "Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana," and "The Political Crisis." His papers are in the Archives of the Western Reserve Historical Society. (Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography.)

from the Delaware annuity for 1806—But the Treaty made with that Tribe in 1804 obliges the United States to pay for those Horses— I have sent for the Piankeshaw chiefs to negotiate for the tract of land between the Wabash and the Kaskaskias purchased— two or three of them are near me but one of them whose presence I think necessary is on the Mississippi and it will take some time to get him Here. It appears to me to be incumbent upon the United States to pass a law to protect the Kaskaskias Tribe from the impositions which are constantly practised upon them by white people designing persons are in the habit of getting them in debt and then threatening them with a suit unless they prevail upon me to assume payment. I have in several instances been obliged to become responsible for Ducoign to save him from a suit when I was by no means certain of the justice of the demand. I have this day drawn upon you in favor of Geo. Wallace Junior & Co. for \$298.31 a part of the amount is for articles furnished the Deputies from the Wea Putawatimi and Delaware Tribes who went with me to St. Louis. I have enclosed their several accounts that the amount of them may be deducted from the annuity of their Tribes should you think it proper.

I have the Honor to be with Respect

Sir your Humble Servant.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON.

The Honble.

Henry Dearborn, Secrety. of War.

Jean Francois Perrey to William Henry Harrison

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Cahokia, 10th Dec. 1805.

Sir:—

We went according to your request and delivered your message to the Kickapoo Chiefs, as named in the following speech; we found them on the frontiers very quiet and in appearance very amicably disposed, and in fact, the Americans settlements that are near them speak much in their favour. The chief Pawatamo, kept to himself during the Counsel, the relation of some insult, that he and his family had received from the Americans not wishing to show (as he told us afterwards) any animosity or even any thoughts of hostility in their speech. This as he himself afterwards related to us is the insults; that the Americans stole two Bells from off his horses necks whilst he was at the *Mamelles*,* that whilst his Son was a hunting, an American

*"Mamelles" were bluffs on the east side of the Wabash and not far from the mouth of the Embarras River. During Clark's expedition in February, 1779, the soldiers, after wading through the icy waters which overflowed the banks of the Wabash for some distance, finally reached a small hill called "Mamelle Hill." (Historic Highways by Hulbert, Vol. 8, p. 57-58; Cauthorn's History of Vincennes, p. 98.)

threatened to kill him and that his Son was obliged to escape by flight and that as customary, as they were gathering *Pipy-minnt* about *Goshen*, which they generally do by cutting down the Trees, the Americans drove them away by force.

We are Sir, with respect

Your very Obt. & Hble. Servt.

PERREY.*

N. B. Mr. Bond† being anxious to get home, left me on the Hills and took the Strait road and as I had written the speech in French it was necessary to have it translated for you.

PERREY.

Gov. Harrison.

C. J. O.

INDIAN SPEECH

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

The Answer of Pawatamo, Chasso and Oulaqua, the Speech Pronounced by the Latter

He that made us, made us and made fire, it is the master of Life, we are accused of having set fire—we did it and we also saw white people do it. The Deer was put on the Earth by the master of Life, and we endeavour to make our wives and children live, and if we are not permitted to set fire, we cannot live. You then want us to die. You the Whites would be very angry, if we were to die with hunger, for the want of hunting, and that we should go and kill your cattle to eat.

At the time we lived with the French, our first father, we were happy, they never said anything to us, since we have know our father the long knife, there are allways some Complaints, though we do not think to do them any harm, at present that we are endeavouring to make our wives and children live, we do not dare set fire; when we do set fire we think ourselves distant from the settlements and we are close. In all counsel, we have been, we are desire to hunt and not go to war, now, we are quiet and hunting, and we believe to do right;—it is impossible to hunt without setting fire. The Whites arrive every day, they settle, we know nothing of it, and if they suffer in the fall, it is rather

*Jean Francois Perrey appears in the militia roll of St. Clair Co., Ind., for August, 1790. He was also one of the judges of the Court of Quarter Sessions held at Cahokia in 1801. (Early Illinois, Fergus Historical Series, No. 31, p. 92, and Journal of Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. 4, p. 474.)

†Shadrack Bond was a farmer from Maryland. He was sent as delegate to Washington to secure the passage of a bill organizing Illinois Territory. He was made the first governor of Illinois. His uncle, Shadrack Bond, was one of Clark's soldiers and came to Illinois in 1781. (Fergus Hist. Series No. 31, p. 78.)

their fault than ours because we do not know where they are. The master of Life gave us this land, it is to live on and our wives and children,—whilst you were on the other side of the great Lake, that land was given you to live on—In all the Counsels our father has nothing but hard things to tell us, whilst we are endeavouring to do every thing to please him, we strive to hunt in such places, as will be of no injury to them, and whilst we are endeavouring to do good, we find ourselves near the Long Knives, who complain immediately—now that we think to do well, we are exposed to reproaches, which renders our Life, a hard one, if we set fire to the Weeds or Grass it is to live on the Game, we have no other means to subsist—all that the master of Life placed on the Earth, is to live upon—and we endeavor to live as in the times of our first fathers—why do you reproach us of setting fire? You are glad to receive our skins without which we would have none—In all our Counsels, the Chiefs exhort us, to make our Wives and Children live, it is our sole occupation, and we strive to do no hurt to any person. We have had our first father, the french, then the English, and Spaniard, today we have our Father the Long Knife, who does not like our Conduct.—We are not the only ones who set fire, the Kaskaskians, the Shawenens and the Miamis has set fire, as well as us—We know not of any horses belonging to the Whites amongst us, if there were any, we should not hide it, we saw one light bay that the Miamis have, that has the four feet and nose White.

William Henry Harrison to Henry Dearborn

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 24th December 1805.

Sir:

In consequence of the great alarm which existed in the Illinois country from the Hostile dispositions which some parties of Kickapoos were said to have manifested towards the settlers by setting fire to their fences and Hay stacks and otherwise abusing and insulting them I thought it highly expedient and proper to send to them a respectable deputation to demand an explanation of their conduct and if it was found to be as criminal as it had been represented to insist upon the surrender of the culprits and an unequivocal declaration as to their future intentions. In order to give satisfaction to the citizens I selected two of the most respectable characters of that neighborhood one an american and the other a Frenchman who have executed their commission much to my satisfaction and whose respective reports I have now the Honor to enclose—From these and from

other information which I have procured I am convinced that the conflagration's complained of were entirely accidental and that the extensiveness of the mischief they have occasioned is to be attributed to the unusual drought of the season.

General Wilkinson will have communicated to you the unfortunate catastrophe which has befallen the Osages. As soon as I was informed of it I dispatched instructions to Messrs. Wells and Jouit,* by a special express directing to use the utmost endeavours to get possession of the prisoners that they may be restored to their friends. I have little doubt of their success as the most influential of the Putawatimi Chiefs are upright well meaning men. However disagreeable and afflicting this affair may be at the moment when we had flattered ourselves that a general pacification had been effected;

the Putawatimies are certainly not so much to blame as they may appear to be upon a first view of the transaction for the party which made the stroke were certainly uninformed of the Treaty at St. Louis nor could they know (from the time that they crossed the Mississippi) that any thing of the kind was in agitation.

The murders committed on the Missouri and Saint Francois Rivers have excited I understand much alarm in that country. It is with great pleasure I inform you that the Tribes on this side of the Mississippi are as well disposed towards us as ever they have been.

The Delawares are indeed extremely restless and uneasy, they are much dissatisfied with the Miamies and all the young men are very desirous to join their countrymen on the west side of the Mississippi. The Chiefs and Old men wish to remain where they are and have applied to me to use my influence to prevent the intended emigration. I have as yet returned them no answer because I wished to be informed whether their stay or removal would best comport with the views of the President.

I have the honor to be with great Respect and Esteem,

Sir your Huml. Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON.

Dec. 28th.

I have had more difficulty in assembling the Piankeshaws Chiefs and bringing them to reasonable terms than I at first apprehended—the Treaty will however be signed this day or tomorrow & will be forwarded by the next mail.

The Honble.

Henry Dearborn Esq.

Secretary of War.

*Charles Jouett (1772-1834) was the first United States Indian Agent residing at Chicago, having been appointed in 1805. Previous to that in 1802-4 he was stationed at Detroit, where he married Eliza Dodemead in 1803. In 1811 he removed to Kentucky and settled near Harrodsburg. He was Indian Agent at Chicago again, serving from 1818-1819. He was judge of the United States Court for Arkansas and assisted in organizing the territorial government. (Chicago Antiquities by Hurlbut, p. 102-9.)

Benjamin Parke's Report of Indian Murders

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Wednesday Noon.

The Indians have just arrived with their prisoner.—between thirty and forty well made, handsome able bodied men presented themselves in council. They conducted the whole in admirable order and with more decency & renown than I have ever observed among the savages. Several of the Chiefs delivered lengthy speeches and spoke apparently in an eloquent and feeling manner—all, in a word amounted to this:—that they were fools; had lost their old fathers; had been lost, and had lately found their new fathers; had by the advice of the Mississippi traders and from inclination seized the murderer and brought him down; that they believed him guilty and no better than *stinking flesh*; still they hoped for pity and compassion and would cheerfully submit to the wisdom and clemency of the whites. The Indian was then presented bound, in their estimation, in a most ignominious manner. He evidenced strong marks of contrition and a sense of his crime:—confessed the murder; sd that one had struck him over the head with a pipe and then tore down his hut. The other man he slew for fear of being slain himself—and begged that compassion might be exercised in deciding his case; but declared that he was resigned to whatever might be his fate—that he had no doubt but it would be just.

I felt affected with the magnimity of these people.—They are really deserving a more attentive consideration of our Govt. Mr. Choteau has dismissed the council to meet to morrow when he gives his answer—He effected a reconciliation between these people and a nation arrived a short time since, 170 leagues up the Missouri.

M. C. had just hinted to me that he will permit them to return with the prisoner, subject to any further requisition that may be made by our Govt. I think it best— We ought to have a mode of proceeding peculiar to the Indians character and police the subtleties of our Law are not calculated for them; and we have already played the fool with the fellow lately escaped. These people will return the prisoner whenever required.

Adieu.

B. PARKE.*

*Benjamin Parke (1777-1835) settled in Vincennes, Ind., in 1801 and was soon appointed attorney general of the territory. He was a member of the first territorial legislature, 1805, and of the Congress from Dec. 12, 1805, to March 1, 1808, when he resigned to become judge of the U. S. Territorial Court for Indiana. He fought in the battle of Tippecanoe. He helped establish the Vincennes Public Library and University and was founder and first president of the Indiana Hist. Soc. (Appleton's Cyclopedia of Am. Biog.)

William Henry Harrison to John Askin, Sr.

From Original in Burton Historical Collection, Vol. 14, page 56.

Sir

Vincennes 9th. Feby. 1806

A sincere desire to serve a very honest & respectable man must be my appology for addressing a Gentleman to whose person I am an entire Stranger. I have understood that you have an interest in a bond & Mortgage given by Col. Vigo of this place to the late Mr. James Abbot* of Detroit for a considerable sum & which is now put in the hands of Mr. William McIntosh for collection. This claim Mr Dubois has lately made an offer of purchasing and has proposed to Mr McIntosh as a consideration to convey to the claimants thirty tracts of Donation lands near to this place amounting to twelve thousand acres—a valuable House & lot—two other lots appending thereto and about 90 or 100 acres of improved land near to the town— This property altho' it would not perhaps bring two thirds of the sum if exposed to public sale for cash is in my opinion at the lowest valuation worth at least 16 or 17000 Dollars And I sincerely believe that after it shall be conveyed & the eight tracts which are offered for the debt due to Williams & Co that there will be left to the Colonel scarcely enough to procure the necessaries of life for his declining age— Mr McIntosh in his answer to Mr Dubois which I understand is to be forwarded by the conveyance declares that he is prohibited by his instructions from making any compromise but seems to think that the offer is such as might be accepted by his principals provided some additions were made to it which have been made agreeably to his suggestion— The rapid population of this part of the Territory induces me to believe that none of the Gentlemen who are interested in the debt would be ultimately losers by a settlement made in this way— At any rate I am persuaded that more could not be offered without exposing the old Gentleman to absolute penury.—I have heard that some part of Col. Vigo's conduct towards yourself & some other of the claimants had excited great indignation against him & was the cause of the severity manifested in the late instructions to Mr McIntosh— Of the precise nature of the offence I am ignorant—I confidently believe however that there has been some

*James Abbott was born in the city of Dublin, came to Albany and then to Detroit about 1763 or soon after. Here he established a successful trading business with Detroit as his headquarters and posts at Vincennes, Miami, Prairie-du-Chien, Michillimackinac and on the Wabash near the mouth of the Tippecanoe. He married Mary Barkle of Albany about 1769. His will was drawn up May 28, 1799, and probated July 5, 1800. The exact date of his death is not known. In early life he had lost an arm and the Indians gave him the name "Kish-ke-ne-kah." He had six children. (Memorial des Families Casgrain, Baby, Perrault, Appendices G; Governor and Judges Records—Proceedings of the Land Board, Detroit, 1915, page 164.)

mistake in the representation of his conduct— The peculiar circumstances of his situation ought certainly to be taken into consideration— you must be sensible that an ignorant and unlettered man must in an affair of this nature give himself entirely to the guidance of others— How far his agents may have conducted themselves properly or otherwise I can not determine— but I am certain that nothing unfair unjust or indecent was ever contemplated by him towards his creditors—

I am with great Respect and Consideration

Sir

Your Humb. Servt.

WILLM. H. HARRISON.

John Askin Esq.

Addressed: John Askin Senr. Esquire

Sandwich

Upper Canada

Endorsed on back in John Askin's handwriting:

Vincent, Feb. 9th 1806

Wm. Henry Harrison to

Jno. Askin Recd. ye 16th March

Answd. ye 27th.

William Henry Harrison to John Askin, Sr.

From Original in Burton Historical Collection, Vol. 14, page 108.

Grouseland* (near Vincennes)

21st May 1806.

Sir

I beg you to accept of my thanks for the flattering attention that you were pleased to shew to the requests contained in a former letter upon the subject of the debt due from Colo. Vigo to certain gentlemen of your vicinity—the affair has I believe been completely Settled & I have indirectly understood that the agent of the claimants was agreeably disappointed as to the value and quality of the land which has been taken a considerable part of which he has lately seen— Will you pardon me for recommending to you to keep for a short time at least such part of the land as may be allotted to you or if you do sell that you direct your agent to allow a credit of 18 months or two years by which means it will sell for at least 50 percent more than if sold for cash—the title may be with held until payment is made— As soon as I received your letter I lost no time in communicating to Colo. Vigo that part of it which relates to his debt to yourself indi-

*"Grouseland" was Harrison's plantation near Vincennes. In 1804 Harrison erected a brick house upon this property. The house was standing in 1901. (History of Vincennes by Cauthorn, 1901, page 183.)

vidually—his reply was to this effect. “It was never my intention “to wrong Mr. Askin—our accounts were settled during my “illness & my notes given for a ballance which appeared to be due “to him—one of these had been payed—and an arrangement made “with Mr. Dubois to discharge the other upon his return to “Detroit when Mr. McIntosh the agent of Mr. A. applied to me “for the money—he was informed that Mr. Dubois had under- “taken to pay it to yourself—but nothing but the money would “satisfy Mr. McIntosh—the money was not to be had & a writ “was served upon me, the first (or perhaps the second) in my “life—irritated at the adoption of a measure which could only “be intended to put me to cost & trouble (for Mr. Askin would “have certainly received the amount of my note in a few months). “I naturally began to investigate the origin of my debt & for “this purpose I put my papers in the hands of an Attorney by “whom I was informed & am still informed that an error was “made in the settlement & that I justly & legally owed Mr. Askin “nothing.”

I am no lawyer but I cannot conceive that any Court of Justice will allow Colo. Vigo to adduce any proof to set aside a note of hand upon the ground of a mistake being made in the Settlement—this objection I urged upon him—but he said that he had been differently informed by his lawyers—However I believe that the affair may still be settled to your satisfaction without a Judicial decision—at present he is I believe absolutely unable to raise more money than that which he has engaged to pay on account of the late arrangement (& even this Mr. Dubois advances) but after the two Heavy debts of Abbot & Cassady are settled he will still have some property that will command money in the course of 8 or 12 months & I hope & believe that he will immediately settle your affair to your satisfaction—

If you know the ground of his objection to the Settlement formerly made between you (for I do not) if you can convince Mr Dubois of its futility Mr. Vigo will I am sure abandon it immediately— & I beg you to command me freely on this & on every other occasion when you may suppose I can be of the smallest service to you—

I am with much Respect

Sir

your

Hum Servant

WILLM HENRY HARRISON

John Askin Esqr

Endorsed on back in Mr. Askin's handwriting:

Grousland near Vincennes

May 21th, 1806 Governor

Harrison to Jno. Askin

Recd. 16th June & Answd. ye 18th.

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MANUSCRIPTS AND RECORDS

-FROM THE

BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION

VOLUME I

JULY, 1917

NUMBER 4

PETER LEWNEY'S ADVENTURES

From the London Chronicle or Universal Evening Post, No. 109,
Sept. 8-Sept. 10, 1757.

Detroit in 1757

Philadelphia, July 28. Since our last came to Town one Peter Lewney,* who, for about a Year past has been among the French and Indians at Fort Detroit, and informs us as follows, viz. That he was an Ensign of a Company of Rangers in the back Parts of Virginia, consisting of 70 Men, commanded by Capt. John Smith: That last Summer the Frontier Inhabitants being greatly distressed by the incursions of the Enemy, their whole Company went out in different Parties to their Assistance, except the Captain, himself, and nine private Men, who were in a Block-house, and had with them six Women and five Children.†

*This name is spelled "Looney" and "Luney" in the Virginia records. Peter was the son of Robert Looney, who lived on the James River. There were at least two other sons, David and Daniel. Peter died not long before Oct. 11, 1759, leaving a wife, Margaret, and a son, Peter Jr., and possibly other children. His wife later married James McKain (other records give the name "Cain" and "McCain"). *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Augusta County 1745-1800, by Lyman Chalkley.*

†An account of this disaster is found in *Chalkley's Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Vol. 2, page 511*, taken from papers in the *Wisconsin Historical Society*. Capt. John Smith and Peter Looney were taken prisoners by the Indians at Fort Vane (Vance). Captain Smith was returned and Peter Looney escaped as told in the narrative. Several others were taken at the same time: William Bratton, who was returned; Joseph Smith, William Pepper, Mrs. Vanscher (Vance) and two daughters, a negro, two young Indians and a young man-servant, Ican Medley and two daughters, James Bell, Christopher Hicks, ——— Cole, ——— Graham, Benjamin Davis; Lieut. John Smith, who was killed; John Tracy, also killed; John English, killed; Mrs. Mary English; William, Thomas and Samuel Robinson, wounded, and Robert Pepper, wounded. The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 2, page 401*, also gives this account.

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That on the 25th of June, 1756, they were attacked by a Body of Indians and some French, and defended themselves the best Part of a Day; in which Time he says, they killed 32 Indians, and three Frenchmen, lost two of their own People, and another Man and himself were wounded; but were forced to surrender at last, the House they were in being set on Fire.

That they were then carried off, and after travelling some Time, the Indians belonging to four different Tribes divided the Prisoners, and parted; that before they came to the lower Shawanese Town (where he supposes there were about 300 Indians) the Shawanese made a Sacrifice of one Cole, whom they roasted alive, and tormented for a whole Night before he expired; and this they did in Sight of the French, who seemed unconcerned at their horrid Barbarity, and did not endeavour to restrain them, notwithstanding the moving Intreaties and bitter Complaints of the poor Man; that they also killed and scalped another Man on the Road, he being old and not able to travel.

That he (Lewney) was the only one that was carried to Detroit, where there are about 300 French Families settled, and in what is called the Town, they have about 100 Houses; that they have Plenty of Fish; the Land rich, on which they raise Wheat and Pease, and have very good Crops; and the Indians, of two or three different Nations, very numerous.

That while he was at Detroit, an Indian King adopted him for his Brother, on which Account he was very well used, and was often with them at their Councils with the French, being dressed and painted as the Indians were, and not known by the French but as an Indian, living in every Respect as they did; and that one Time in particular, at a Conference, he heard the French Commander order the Indians to go first to Fort Duquesne, then to Fort Cumberland, and afterwards to destroy all the English Inhabitants; that about the Beginning of April last a great Body of Indians set off for Duquesne, in Parties, each Party having some Frenchmen with them.

That about the Middle of June, he left Detroit in Company with a small Party of Indians, who were going to Niagara with some Furs, in order to purchase Indian Goods; that from Detroit to Niagara it is about 280 Miles, and that on the Falls of the latter the French have a small Fort, in which they keep 30 Men; and at Niagara there is a Fort of 24 Guns, Six, Nine, and Twelve-pounders, and in it about 300 Men.

That while he was at Niagara, he met with one William Philips, of New York, who was taken at Oswego, and they agreed to make their Escape together; that the Night before they left it, 280 French arrived there from Cadaraqui, destined, it was said, for Fort Duquesne, who encamped that Night, and were to set out again the next Day, but he and Philips went off before them; that they travelled about 200 Miles (the Land bad, and mostly

drowned) when they came to Oswego, without seeing an Indian; which Place, and Fort Ontario, they found entirely destroyed; that they then came to the Mohawk River, where they were kindly received by the Indians, who gave them Victuals, of which they were in great Want; and that they got to Albany the 12th inst. from whence he proceeded to this City, and is now gone to Virginia, where his Parents live. He was born in this Town, and is about 23 Years of Age. Capt. Smith, he said, was given to the French, and sent to Canada in the Spring.

GIDDINGS AND LUNT FAMILY RECORD

From Copy in Burton Historical Collection.

Micajah Lunt* of Newburyport and Sarah Giddings of Ipswich were married at Ipswich (now Essex), on the†

RECORD

Copied from the family Bible of Grandfather Giddings, said record being in his own hand writing, and the Bible in possession of George C. Furber of Germantown, Tennessee.

I, Daniel Giddings,‡ was born at Ipswich, State of Massachusetts, on the 9th of May 1734, U. S.
1757, Feb. 27th, I married Sarah Lord, third daughter of Thomas Lord of Ipswich, Massachusetts.

1758, Jan. 18th—Our first child was born. We named her Sarah.

1760, Jan. 1st—Our second daughter was born. We named her Mary.

*Micajah (also called Michael) Lunt, son of Abner Lunt and Miriam Coffin, was a private under Capt. Jonathan Evans in Col. Nath. Wade's regiment. He first enlisted on July 6, 1778, which according to records made him 14 years old. His name is found in a descriptive list of men who enlisted in 1780. He was 5 ft. in height and of dark complexion. At that time he claimed to be 19 years old. (*Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution.*) He was captured three times during the war. After the war he became a successful shipmaster and prominent merchant and died as stated in the above records. *Newbury Anniversary*, page 134.

†Sarah Giddings and Micajah Lunt were married June 11, 1793. Their intentions were also recorded. *Vital Records of Ipswich, Mass., and Newbury, Mass.*

‡Daniel Giddings was a son of Daniel Giddings and Mary Butler. Daniel Sr. died Oct. 25, 1771, leaving a widow and eight children: Susannah, wife of Samuel Sayward; Eunice, wife of Jeremiah Choate, grandfather of the Hon. Rufus Choate; Mary, wife of William Story; Daniel Jr., who married Sarah Lord; Hannah, wife of John Lord; Sarah, wife of Francis Rush; Lydia, wife of Joseph Foster; Ruth, wife of Capt. Thomas Dodge. Daniel Giddings, Jr., died Aug. 18, 1816, aged 82 years. His wife, Sarah, died July 1, 1797, aged 58 years. They were both buried in Claremont, N. H. *Giddings Genealogy: Felt's History of Ipswich, Mass., page 181.*

- 1761, Aug. 13th—Our third daughter was born. We named her Susannah.
1763, April 14 —Our fourth daughter was born. We named her Lydia.
1765, Aug. 13th—Our fifth daughter and second Sarah was born.
1767, March 28 —Our sixth daughter & second Susannah was born.
1768, July 3rd—Our first son was born. We named him Daniel.
1769, Nov. 14th—Our daughter Judith was born.
1771, Aug. 14th—Our daughter Miriam was born.
1775 — — —Our ninth daughter and second Miriam was born.
1777, May 18th—Our second son was born. Called him William.
1780, July 23rd—Our daughter Hannah was born.
1782, July 4th—Our daughter Polly was born.
1784, May 18th—Our third son was born. We called him Joseph.
-

DEATHS IN THE ABOVE FAMILY

- Mrs. Hannah Furber died February 28th 1822, aged 41 years.
Mrs. Mary Tyler died in Claremont, N. H., November 1822, aged 40 years.
Daniel Giddings died in September, 1835, aged 67 years.
Joseph Giddings died in Providence, R. I., July 31st 1813, aged 29 years.
Mrs. Sarah Lunt died in Newbury, Jan. 5th 1827, aged 61 years and five months.
Lydia Moody died in N. Port, October 19th 1845, aged 82 years, 6 months and 5 days.
Susan Giddings died in N. Port, November 1st, 1847, aged 80 years, 7 months and 4 days.
-

BIRTHS

Micajah Lunt born November 17th, 1764, in Newburyport.
Sarah Giddings born August 13th, 1765, at Ipswich—Chebacco parish.

William Lunt was born in Newburyport, October 3rd 1793.

Micajah Lunt was born in Newbury, April 22nd 1796.

William Lunt, 2nd, was born in Newburyport, January 1st 1798.

Sarah L. Lunt was born in Newburyport, October 6th 1800.

Mary C. Lunt was born in Newburyport, November 9th 1802.

George Lunt was born in Newbury Port March 7th 1805.

Hannah Giddings Lunt was born in Newburyport, 25th March 1807.

Susan Maria Lunt was born in Newburyport, June 5th 1811.

Jacob William, child of Micajah Lunt, son by a second marriage, was born January 20th, 1829.

MARRIAGES

Sarah L. Lunt was married to Henry Titcomb Jun., April 13th 1826.

Micajah Lunt Jun., was married to Hannah Mulliken, May 29th 1826.

Micajah Lunt Jr. was married to Mary I. Coffin, Dec. 13th 1831.

Susan Maria Lunt married David P. Page of Newbury, Dec. 16th 1832, Sunday morning.

George Lunt was married to Caroline B. Chase, July 10th 1833.

Hannah G. Lunt was married to Abijah Howard Jr., October 6th 1840.

Mary C. Lunt was married to Rev. E. T. Fitch, January 6th 1848, Thursday morning.

DEATHS

Micajah Lunt died Sunday afternoon, August 30th, 1840, aged 76 yrs.

Sarah Lunt died January 5th, 1827, aged 61 years and 5 months.

William Lunt died August 14th 1794, aged 10 months and 14 days.

William Lunt, 2nd., died November 6th, 1800, aged 2 yrs. 10 mo. 6 dys.

Sarah L. Titcomb, wife of Henry Titcomb, died Jan. 14th 1878, aged 77 years and 3 months.

Mrs. Hannah Gyles Lunt, wife of Micajah Lunt, Jr., died Oct. 8, 1829, aged 30 years.

Caroline B. Lunt, wife of George Lunt, died

Susan M. Page, wife of David P. Page, died Feb. 5th, 1878, aged 66 years and 8 months.

BIRTHS

Henry Titcomb Jr. born July 13th 1799, in Newburyport.

S. L. L., born October 6th, 1800.

Henry Titcomb born March 20th 1827— $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 A. M., in Newburyport.

Sarah Giddings Titcomb born August 22nd. 1828, in N. Port, in the Bank house, Harris St.

Hannah Gyles Titcomb born Nov. 6th 1830, at 3 o'clock P. M., in the house in Orange Street, Newburyport.

Valeria Kendall Titcomb born May 3rd 1833, Friday morning.

Frederic Henry Titcomb, born September 4th 1837, Monday morning, in Orange Street.

DEATHS

Henry Titcomb Jr. died Sunday morning August 20th 1837, aged 38 yrs.

Sarah, his wife, died Jan. 14th 1878, aged 77 yrs. and 3 months.

Henry, eldest son of Henry Titcomb Jr., died Thursday morning, July 31st, 1845, aged 18 years.

Sarah Giddings, eldest daughter of Henry Titcomb Jr., died Monday morning, May 31st 1847, aged 18 Years and nine months.

Hannah G. White, wife of John White Jr., died ———

Frederic Henry Titcomb died Friday evening, December 16th 1849.

DANIEL BOONE'S PETITION

Photostat—Files of the Senate, Washington, D. C.

161
 11 Cong. }
 2 Sess. } L.

Report of Committee & Petition
 of Daniel Boone,* an Inhabitant
 of the Territory of Louisiana.

1810
 January 2—Read.

Jany. 3rd
 Committed
 Series 8
 Mr. Meigs†
 S. Files.
 “ Anderson‡
 “ Pope§

*Daniel Boone (1735-1820), the great hunter and adventurer, incited by the accounts brought back by John Finley, formed a company of six kindred spirits and on May 1, 1769, set out for the almost unknown wilds of Kentucky. His experiences and knowledge made it possible for him to do great service on the frontier in Lord Dunmore's war. He also constructed a strong fort on the bank of the Kentucky River which he named Boonesborough. On one of his expeditions he was captured by the Indians and adopted into the family of a Shawanese chief. After living with them for some time he made his escape and returned to his family. When Kentucky was surveyed upon being admitted into the Union, Boone's title was disputed and the case decided against him. He then sought a new home at Point Pleasant, but in 1795 removed to Missouri, where he received a Spanish grant. This grant was pronounced invalid when the Spanish possessions passed into the hands of Napoleon and were sold to the United States. An appeal to Congress resulted in a grant of 850 acres. At the age of 75 he was hale and strong. The charm of a hunter's life clung to him to the last and at the age of 82 years he went on a hunting excursion. He made his own coffin and kept it under his bed. *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography.*

†Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., (1764-1824) was elected on the Democratic ticket to fill a vacancy in the U. S. Senate and served from Dec. 12, 1808, to May 1, 1810, when he resigned to become governor of Ohio.

‡Joseph Anderson (1757-1837), senator from Tennessee, served in the Revolution and was breveted major. He was appointed judge of the territory south of the Ohio River in 1791. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of Tennessee; United States Senator from 1797-1798, filling a vacancy caused by the expulsion of William Blount; re-elected to fill vacancy caused by the resignation of Andrew Jackson; re-elected and served from 1798-1809 and on to 1815. He was the first controller of the Treasury, March 4, 1815-July 1, 1836.

§John Pope, senator and representative from Kentucky, was born in Virginia in 1770. He practiced law in Kentucky and served several years as a member of the State House of Representatives. He served in the United States Senate from March 4, 1807, to March 3, 1813. He was governor of Arkansas from 1829-1835 and again represented Kentucky in Congress 1837-1843. *Biographical Congressional Dictionary, 1774-1911.*

Jany. 12th
Reported

The petition of Daniel Boone
presented by Mr. Meigs.

Jany. 18, 1810.

A Bill reported and postponed
to the s. Monday Dec. next.

To the Senate and Representatives of the Citizens of the United
States in Congress, assembled :

The petition of Daniel Boone, at present an Inhabitant of the
Territory of Louisiana respectfully sheweth :

That your petitioner having spent a long life in exploring the
wilds of North America ; and having by his own personal exer-
tion, been greatly instrumental in opening the road to civilization
in the immense Territories now attached to the United States,
and in some instances matured into independent states.

An ardent thirst for discovery united with a desire to benefit a
rising family has impelled him to encounter the numerous hard-
ships, privations, difficulties and dangers to which he has unavoid-
ably been exposed. How far his desire for discovery has been
extended and what consequences have resulted from his labors
are at this time unnecessary to detail.

But while your petitioner has thus opened the way to thousands,
to countries possessed of every natural advantage ; and altho he
may have gratified to excess his thirst for discovery, he has to
lament, that he has not derived those personal advantages which
his exertions would seem to have merited. He has secured but a
scanty portion of that immeasurable territory, over which his
discoveries have extended, and his family have reason to regret,
that their interest had not been more the great object of his dis-
coveries.

Your petitioner has nothing to demand from the justice of his
Country, but he respectfully suggests, that it might be deemed
an act of grateful benevolence if his Country, amidst their boun-
ties would so far gratify his last wish, as to grant him some
reasonable portion of Land within the Territory of Louisiana.

He is the more induced to this request, as the favorite pittance
of soil, to which he conceived he had acquired a title, under the
Spanish Government, has been wrested from him, by a construc-
tion of the existing Laws, not in his contemplation and beyond
his foresight. Your petitioner is not disposed to murmur or com-

plain; but conscious of the value and extent of his services; he solicits some evidence of their liberality.

He approaches the august assemblage of his Fellow Citizens, with a confidence inspired by that Spirit which has led him so often to the deep recesses of the wilds of America; and he flatters himself that he with his family, will be induced to acknowledge that the United States know how to appreciate and encourage the efforts of her Citizens, in enterprizes of magnitude, from which proportionate public good may be derived.

DANIEL BOONE.

IN SENATE
OF
THE UNITED STATES

January 12th, 1810.

Mr. Meigs, from the committee to whom was referred the petition of Daniel Boon, together with the bill for his relief made the following report:

THAT at a period antecedent to the revolutionary war, Daniel Boon, the petitioner, possessing an ardent desire for the exploration of the (then) western wilderness of the United States, after traversing a length of mountainous and uninhabited country, discovered, and with a few bold and enterprising fellows, established, with a perilous hardihood, the first settlement of civilized population in the (now) state of Kentucky. That in maintaining the possession of that country until the peace of 1783, he experienced all the vicissitudes of a war with enemies the most daring, insidious and cruel, and which were aided by Canadians from the British provinces of upper Canada; and that during that long contest, he lost several children by the hands of the savages.

That it appears to the committee, that although the petitioner was not officially employed by the government of the United States, yet that he was actually engaged against their enemies, through the whole of the war of the revolution.

That in the exploring, settling and defending that country, he eminently contributed to the early march of the American western population, and which has redounded to the benefit of the United States. That your petitioner is old, infirm, and, though dependent on agriculture, by adverse and unpropitious circumstances, possesses not one acre of that immeasurable territory which he so well defended, after having been the pioneer of its

settlement. The petitioner disclaiming all idea of a demand upon the justice of his country, yet requests as a grateful benevolence, that Congress would grant him some reasonable portion of land in the territory of Louisiana. The committee upon the whole circumstances of the merit and situation of the petitioner, beg leave to report the bill without amendment.

THE ADVENTURES OF HENRY BIRD

From the *Analectic Magazine*, 1815, Vol. VI, Pages 295-301.

Henry Bird removed in 1797 from Frederick county, Virginia, where he was born in 1767, to the head waters of Sandusky, in the state of Ohio. He was accompanied by two of his neighbours, John Peters and Thomas Philips, in partnership with whom he had purchased a little tract of six hundred and sixty acres of land. At that time, there were no inhabitants within eight or nine miles of the spot they had chosen. The first thing they did was to build a log hut, with the assistance of their neighbors, who each brought a bushel of wheat to support the new-comers until they could raise their own grain. Such is the custom in all these little frontier settlements, where necessity has revived many good old patriarchal customs, and established a neighbourly connexion among the first settlers that is not seen in other communities.

Here Bird lived till the year 1811, during which time he became the father of five children, and saw the country change from a wilderness inhabited by panthers, bears, buffaloes, wolves, and wild turkeys, to cultivated farms, belonging to sturdy, independent yeomanry. The first year he came, though no hunter, he killed two panthers, and had an irruption made into his pig-sty, which adjoined one end of his hut, by a bear, who carried off one of his best pigs. For a long time he was disturbed at night by the howling of wolves close under his windows; but as the country became cleared and more thickly settled, they gradually receded into the woods, and seldom came near the house. The Indians were all about them, and a friendly intercourse had long subsisted between Bird, and a warrior of the Shawanese tribe, called the Big Captain, who often came and slept at his house.

But after the battle of Tippecanoe, they all disappeared; and as this was a signal that they meditated revenge, the inhabitants gathered together, two or three families in a hut, that they might be the better able to resist any sudden attack. Bird's friends,

Peters and Philips, came to his house with their families, because it was larger than theirs, having, as he says, "two fire-places with a partition between." The whole number thus collected amounted to nineteen, three men, three women, and thirteen children, some of them quite grown up.

On the 17th of October, 1811, "just after daylight was gone," to use his own expression, while Bird was lying down on the bed, his wife roasting a piece of buffalo, and Peters and Philips, with three of the daughters were sitting round the fire, eight guns were discharged through the window, which killed the whole party at the fire, and wounded Bird in the hip with two balls. He sprung out of bed, but dropped on the floor, and at the same instant the Indians, eighteen in number, burst open the door with a horrible yell. Bird endeavoured to climb up so as to reach one of four loaded muskets, which hung against the wall, but was followed by an Indian who struck him in the shoulder with his tomahawk. This blow brought him down, and the Indian cut and hacked away at his left side, which was uppermost, until he thought him quite dead. Then, having killed the whole nineteen, and being fearful that the firing might have roused the neighbourhood, they seized the four rifles, the Big Captain gave the retreating war whoop, and they all retired to their canoes, which had been left at the head of a creek communicating with the waters of the Great Sandusky.

Here they lay until morning, when, finding all quiet, they returned to the house and fell to stripping the dead bodies, amounting to eighteen. When they had done this, they piled them up in the middle of the room. The Indians attempted to strip off Bird's hunting shirt of tow linen, and were going to scalp him and throw him on the pile with the rest, when the Big Captain came. Bird spoke to him by name, begged to be tomahawked, and told the captain "he never used *him* so when he came to see him." The Big Captain then, without making any reply, began to examine his wounds, which when he had done, he exclaimed with wonder, "that the great spirit would not let him die. I will carry you home and cure you," said he.

He ordered two Indians to put Bird in a blanket and carry him down to his canoe, whither he followed him; and while the rest of the party were bringing down the plunder, dressed his wounds; for the Indians always carry with them materials for dressing wounds when they go to war. By this time they had loaded their canoes, and when the last party left the house, they set it on fire in order to burn the dead bodies, among which were Bird's wife and five children. This done, they went down the Sandusky into lake Erie, which they crossed and coasted down to the lower end, till they came to a creek the Indians called Yo-hoh; up which they proceeded about fourteen miles, to the old Shawanese town. This was a distance of near four hundred miles; during all this

time the Big Captain dressed Bird's wounds with considerable skill, but handled him so roughly as to put him to very great pain. Bird thinks he remembers every thing that passed in this long transportation, and when I asked him about the state of his mind, said "he was so taken up with his own pains that he had no time to think of his murdered family."

The Big Captain carried him to his own wigwam, where he lay two and twenty moons before he could walk with crutches. When he grew able, his business was to light the Big Captain's pipe, and fetch water for him. In this last occupation he sometimes met, at the spring, American white women, whose families mostly had been murdered, and who were now slaves to the Shawanese. One of these he knew; she had lived in Ohio, and her story was that of hundreds of others, whose husbands and children had been surprised at their firesides and murdered. Bird promised, should he ever live to escape, that he would give information of the fate of these unhappy women, whose number in this single village was fifty-eight, and who doubtless, have long been considered dead.

The Indians are the most jealous and suspicious of their prisoners of any people in the world. One of them had observed this conversation, without overhearing it, and gave notice that there was a plot among the white slaves to run away. Bird and the poor woman were then brought before the Big Captain, and threatened with death if they did not confess their plots. He persisted in refusing to make any disclosures, and the Big Captain ordered his two thumb nails to be twisted off. Finding that Bird still refused to make any disclosures, he at last became convinced of his innocence, and, by way of satisfaction, directed him to twist off the thumb nails of the accuser. This, however, he declined.

From the time that Bird left off his crutches he had meditated making his escape, although he was in general treated pretty well by the Big Captain, except when the chief was in liquor. At such times even his wife did not dare to come near him, for his passions were terrible, and he was accustomed to indulge them with impunity, because it is a law of the Indians, that a drunken person is not accountable for his actions. It is the liquor, and not the man that is to blame. In order to throw the Big Captain off his guard, Bird affected on all occasions to prefer being the slave of such a great warrior to living among the white men, and working hard all day like a beast. "I lied," said Bird; "I don't deny it, but I thought it excusable in this case." The Big Captain, however, was very suspicious, and would never give him a chance to escape.

One evening in the latter part of February, when Bird had been near forty moons a prisoner, the Big Captain and his Lady both got very drunk, and as the rivers were now frozen, he resolved to take advantage of this circumstance to attempt gaining Detroit, or some other settlement of the whites. He had from time to time,

by little and little, furnished his knapsack with a good quantity of jerked venison to serve him in his long journey. On the night of one of the last days of February, 1815, he left the Big Captain's wigwam, and took a direction as nearly south as possible, through the woods, in order to strike the shores of lake Erie. There was an Indian path to the lake, but he did not dare to take that, for fear of being overtaken by the Indians, should they discover his absence. It was a cold moonlight night, yet still he found much difficulty in keeping a direct course, and it was broad daylight before he struck the lake. From thence he continued up the lake, until about twelve o'clock, and had got, as they told him afterwards, about thirty miles from the town, when he was seized by a party of five Indians, as he was sitting on a log eating a piece of jerked venison. The Big Captain had discovered his flight at daylight, and set off with three hundred men, divided into parties of five each, to scour the woods in every direction.

They tied his hands behind him, and drove him in this way about a mile, to a rising ground, where they fired their guns, and lighted a fire, by setting fire to an old dry walnut tree, as signals for the other parties to come in. Here they passed the night, during which time about one half of the parties had come in. The morning after, they drove Bird into the town, and a council was called to decide on what was to be done with him. It was concluded upon, that as he was determined not to stay with them, he should be "burnt three days." The famous Shawanese Prophet, brother to Tecumseh, was at this council; his opinions are of great weight with the Shawanese, as he is considered to speak the will of the Great Spirit. Bird had seen him often. He is about fifty, very ill looking, and no warrior. He was continually exhorting the Indians to fight the Americans, and keep them from taking away their lands. The influence of the prophet may be estimated by the fact that at one time he had prevailed upon some of the tribes to abstain from spiritous liquors; but they afterward returned to their old habits.

The Big Captain came to tell Bird what they were going to do with him. It was what he expected, and had made up his mind to it. About an hour after sunrise he was taken a little outside the village to the war-dance ground, where he supposes three or four hundred Indians had collected. They tied him down on his back, with his feet fastened to a stake, and the Big Captain seized a fire-brand, which he held first against his hand, then against his arm, taunting him at the same time, by asking "if he intended to run away again soon?" This was done by others in turn, for thirteen different times, at intervals of half an hour, and sometimes of an hour, so that he might be as susceptible as possible to the pain. The intervals were filled up with dancings, tauntings, and expressions of contempt for white men. The louder he groaned, the louder they shouted, exclaiming that "Indians

never groaned, but the white man was no better than a woman." This ceremony continued till within about two hours of sunset, at which time the fingers of his right hand were almost consumed, and his arm burnt quite to the bone. I saw his hand and arm myself, or I could never have been brought to believe that human nature could have endured such long suffering.

At this time there came up one Randall M'Donald,* a Scotch trader from Quebec. He had been all through that country, buying furs, and was now on his way home, with a caravan of sixteen mules and four horses, loaded with skins. He was well known to the Indians, and offered to purchase Bird for a gallon of rum, which, he told the Big Captain, would afford them a much better frolick than burning a poor white man. The bargain was struck—the Big Captain took the rum—Randall M'Donald, with his own hands, cut Bird loose, put him on one of his horses, and set out immediately. They travelled all night, for fear the Indians would repent their bargain after drinking the liquor, and reclaim the poor half-burnt victim. In nine days, Bird thinks, they reached Kingston, where Randall bought him some clothes, and got a surgeon to attend him. They staid four days at Kingston, and then went down to Quebec. All the time during this journey he was attended kindly by Randall, who took him home to his house in Quebec, employed a surgeon, and he soon got well enough to be able to travel on foot. The good Scotchman then told him he might take his choice, either to remain with him or go home. Bird chose the latter; and Randall gave him money to carry him to the frontier; and sent him off with his good wishes. In these miserable times of national antipathies and savage warfare, it is gratifying to trace, in the conduct of Randall M'Donald, that steady, untiring benevolence, which adorns and exalts our nature. That he should have saved the prisoner at the stake is nothing.† But that he should carry him with him, and support him, through such a long, tedious journey, dress his wounds in the wilderness, afterward take him to his home, and finally give him money to support him till he got to his own country, is what, I fear, few could have done under the like circumstances. Let us, then, do honour to this benevolent Scotchman, who saved one of our citizens from the stake, and sent him safe to his home.

*The name Randall McDonald (MacDonel) appears among the *United Empire Loyalists' Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada, Toronto, 1885*, page 219. There is also a Randal McDonal who married Esther Proctor at Montreal, July, 1785. Either or both of these men may have been the father of the man mentioned in the text. *Montreal Marriages in Canadian Archives for 1885*, page LXXXVI; *Bureau of Archives for Ontario, 1904*, page 964.

†This was not the first prisoner McDonald had rescued from the Indians. The *Niles Register*, Vol. 12, page 175, states that, on May 10, 1817, a schooner, "Lydia Johnson," from Quebec bound for New York, ran ashore on Long Island. The boat had among its passengers Benjamin Powell, John Brown, Elizabeth Smith and Sarah Roberts, who had been captives among the Indians. Powell's wife and five children were murdered. Powell was badly mangled. The Indians had sold him and the three others to Randal McDonald for five gallons of rum. Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Roberts lost their husbands and several children by Indian murders.

The money given him by Randall M'Donald lasted Bird till he came to Vermont; from whence to Washington, he subsisted on the benevolence of his countrymen. In general, he says, he had little to complain of. His story almost always gained him food and lodging, and, with very few exceptions, he was seldom turned away from any man's door. Misery and poverty so seldom knock at the doors of an American farmer, that his heart is not yet steeled to apathy by becoming familiar with objects of distress. From the borders of Vermont, he travelled by land to Albany, where the Patroon* got him a passage, free, to Egg-Harbour, and he says he thought his lady would never have done sending provisions on board the vessel for him. From Egg-Harbour, he came across New Jersey to Delaware Bay, which he crossed to Jones's creek in the state of Delaware, whence he went to Haddaway's ferry, crossed the Chesapeake to Annapolis, and arrived at Washington the 6th day of July, 1815. His object in coming there, was to fulfill his promise to the poor women of the old Shawanese Town. It is with pleasure I add, that he was admitted to an audience of the president, and that measures have been taken, by the proper authority, to recover these unfortunate captives, should they be still alive.

I saw him, and inquired particularly into his story, which he repeated as I have given it, without variation or embellishment. There was a striking manliness in his deportment, and he told his tale with such an air of simple truth, that I could swear to every word of it. I asked if he had any objection to its being made public? He said none, provided I did not make a fine story about him. He was going among some distant relations in Frederick county, who he said would take care of him as long as he lived, and he did not want them to think he wished to be the hero of a story. He had more than forty wounds—his shoulder was partly cut off, his thigh gashed with seams, his side scarred with a tomahawk, his fingers almost burnt off, and one of his arms in some places nearly bare to the bone. Yet, he neither repined or complained that his lot was harder than that of other men, but exhibited, more than any being I ever saw, an example of that philosophy which is the offspring, not of reasoning, but of suffering, and of that inflexible hardihood which a long succession of labours, dangers, and hardships ever inspires. P.

*Stephen Van Rensselaer, Esq., of Albany, commonly known by this title in the State of New York.

DOCUMENTS ON EARLY INDIANA HISTORY

(Continued from page 112)

William H. Harrison to Henry Dearborn

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 12th April 1807.

Sir,

I wrote to you about eighteen months ago that some rumours unfavourable to the reputation of Mr. Jovett* had reached me. I have however never found a person who would make any specific charge against him Mr. Munro† excepted who asserted that he had applied a part of the Public provisions to his own use.

Mr. Jovett having heard that some unfavorable impressions had been made on my mind against him has now voluntarily come forward and declared his willingness to submit to any investigation that I might think proper to institute.

His explanation of the circumstances which gave rise to Mr. Munro's accusation is entirely satisfactory and I have no hesitation in saying as far as I am acquainted with his conduct as a public officer he has acted with zeal and integrity. It is true that a great clamor has been raised against him at Detroit by persons in the British interest but this is easily accounted for as the establishment of an Indian Agency at that place had a powerful effect in checking their illicit practices in the Indian Country.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect and esteem,
Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Honorable Henry Dearborn Esq.,
Secretary of War.

*This is Charles Jouett. See note on page 108, this volume.

†Robert Monroe was in Detroit as early as 1803. He was agent of the public stores and attorney to settle the estate of John Francis Hamtramck. He wrote an account of the fire of 1805 when Detroit was entirely destroyed. (See page 91, this volume.) He left Detroit in 1806 and visited his brother in Jamaica. He died in Washington, D. C., and his will was proved and allowed May 14, 1819. *Governor and Judges Journal—Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit, 1915, pages 201-202.*

Michael Jones to William H. Harrison

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Kaskaskia May 4th 1807.

Dear Sir,

On the 29th ultimo, Gabriel, one of the Kaskaskia Indians (Brotherinlaw to Ducoigne) was found dead on the Massac road about seven miles from this place. He was scalped, his skull cut in pieces with three strokes of the Tomihawk, two bullet holes thro' his body, one entered the breast, the other the left side. His left arm broke by the stroke of a ball—his Rifle, accoutrements, blanket, clothes, saddle and bridle were carried off. The saddle was found by a party of the Kaskaskia Indians, who, the day after the murder was committed, pursued the trail of a party of eight Indians in a direction towards the Keckapoo Towns. Two old blankets, an old blue Cappeau and a Jole of Cason were left by the perpetrators with the dead body. Also an Indian war sign was found on the body. Ducoigne believes it to have been done by the Kickapoos or Potowatomies. A few days before this event happened, the horse of Mr. Doza* on which he was riding was shot thro' the neck, a little after dark, on the road leading to Prairie Durocher about two miles from this Village; by the aid of a flash of lightning, Doza discovered two men whom he took to be Indians. A horse belonging to a Mr. Patten was also shot thro the neck (and killed) by an Indian, in the woods near the farm of Mr. Patten, at no great distance from the place where the murder was perpetrated. The bell on the horse, which Mr. Patten's negro found the preceding morning, was carried off: The negro saw an Indian in pursuit of the horse a short time before the horse was shot.

Ducoigne as well as all his people are in a great dread at present. His situation is certainly a very unpleasant and unsafe one. Some strange Indians are said to be sculking about this place. The Kaskaskians have all come to the Village and dare not venture out unless they are permitted to fire on the Indians whom they may meet in the woods. I have advised them to act only on the defensive for the present: to which he replied in a sarcastic way "Yes, When I meet an Indian I must stand until he shoots me down, and then make a defence, and thus lose my life and the lives of my people. I have had ample protection promised

*This may have been Joseph Doza, who was on the census roll of Kaskaskia for 1787, or Alexi Doza, a member of the militia of Kaskaskia in 1790 and 1795. See *Fergus Historical Series*, No. 31, page 75; *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. V., *Kaskaskia Records*, page 417.

to me by the United States, and yet the Officers do not interest themselves in my behalf, no escort can be obtained to bring in my dead people, and they even doubt their authority to rescue me from an attack; under these circumstances I ought at least to be placed on a footing with my enemies."

I stated to you in my former letter that some of our officers entertain eronious opinions as to the protection they are authorized to give to the Kaskaskia Indians in certain cases, and suggested the propriety of giving instructions to the officers on the subject.

I am, D. Sir, your
friend and Humble Servant,

MICH. JONES.*

His Excellency Wm. H. Harrison.

William H. Harrison to Col. Menard

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 18th May 1807.

Sir,

The United States having guaranteed to the Kaskaskia Tribe of Indians a protection against every Indian Tribe or Foreign power equal to what is enjoyed by their own Citizens. And as it appears that there is a design formed by some of the neighbouring Tribes to cut them off, it becomes necessary that measures should be immediately taken to prevent a Catastrophe so horrible in itself, and which would justly subject our Government to the reproach of having violated its most solemn engagements.

You are therefore hereby directed to take immediate measures to have the Militia of the Town of Kaskaskia and its Vicinity in readiness to repel any attack that may be made upon them and in order that your protection should be as effectual as possible I have directed the Chief to put himself and his Tribe under your Orders and not to suffer them to leave the Town, without your permission. This permission should not be given, (unless you should think proper to employ them as Scouts) until it is ascertained that they can go out in safety. I have requested Michael Jones Esquire to supply them with provisions and ammunition,

*Michael Jones was an attorney of Kaskaskia and register of the Land Board in 1804. In 1808 he was defeated as candidate for delegate to Congress. He was a bitter enemy of John Rice Jones and his son Rice Jones (who were no relation to him) and during a quarrel over the election Rice Jones was shot. Michael Jones was among those tried for the murder but was finally acquitted. *Fergus Historical Series, No. 31, pages 35-36, 144-145; No. 34, page 280. Chicago Historical Society's Collection, Vol. IV., pages 172-173, 275-276, 280-281.*

and with this Gentleman to whom I have hitherto entrusted the management of the Indian business in the Illinois Country you will please to consult on the measures to be adopted to carry the orders contained in this letter into effect. It will be necessary that every party of Indians who may come into your vicinity should be watched and that they should be informed of the directions you have received to protect the Kaskaskians and this I hope will be sufficient to prevent their attempting to do them any farther mischief.

I have sent a message to the Chiefs of the Illinois Kickapoos through the Chief of that nation who resides on the Vermilion and a duplicate of the same to Mr. Jones who will convey it to them by some intelligent person who understands their language. You will please to communicate to me as soon as possible any information you may possess relative to the late murder of the Kaskaskian Indian which will lead to a discovery of the Perpetrators and whether it proceeded from an accidental recounter or a determination upon the part of the Tribe to which they belonged to make war upon the Kaskaskians.

I am very respectfully your
humble servant

Signed

W. H. H.

Col Menard* or the
commanding officer of the
Militia of Randolph County.†

William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory,
& Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to his children the
Chiefs and head men of the Kickapoos Tribe

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

My Children:

Why does it happen that I am so often obliged to address you in the language of Complaint?

Will your young men never listen to the advice of their father? My Children,—You cannot be ignorant that the 17 fires of America‡ Have taken the Kaskaskias Tribe under their wings.

*See note, page 99, this volume.

†Randolph County was formed in 1795. At that time there were only two counties in the present State of Illinois, St. Clair County being the other. The line between these counties was an east-and-west line and Randolph County lay south.

‡The seventeen fires of America refers to the seventeen states then in the Union.

You knew this and yet you suffered your young men to shed their blood and scatter it in your father's face.

My Children—the great Chief and the Council of the 17 fires have said to the Kaskaskian Tribe—"My Children—your voice has been heard by your father, he will take you in his bosom and let no man hurt you."

My Children—your father does not lie. He will not suffer you to kill the Kaskaskians when they do you no injury.

My Children,

Let me know by the return of the bearer who it was that covered your father's road with blood.

My Children—I want to see some of you here to speak to you on the subject of the Kaskaskians.

My Children—The blood that was shed on your father's road must be covered up.

From your Father,
(Signed) WM. H. HARRISON.

19th May 1807.

William H. Harrison to Henry Dearborn

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 23rd May 1807.

Sir,

I have the Honour to enclose herewith a letter from Michael Jones Esquire the Register of the Land Office at Kaskaskias upon the subject of a Murder lately committed upon one of the Kaskaskia Indians in the vicinity of Kaskaskias by a party of Indians supposed to belong to the Kickapoo or Potawatomie Tribes. From the circumstances attending the murder and others which have come to my knowledge, I am induced to believe that a design has been formed by one or both of the last mentioned tribes to destroy the remnant of the Kaskasias Tribe. As the United States have guaranteed to the Kaskaskias "a protection as effectual as that which is enjoyed by their own Citizens" I had no hesitation in giving the Orders of which the enclosed is a copy to the Commanding Officer of the Militia at Kaskaskias. I hope however that there will be no necessity of having recourse to Arms to protect them. The message which I have sent to the Kickapoos (of which I enclose a Copy) will I believe produce a suspension of Hostilities and satisfaction for the injury that has been already done. The killing of the Horse mentioned in Mr. Jones' letter and the firing at the frenchman do not in my opinion indicate any hostile design against the Whites. The Indians frequently

steal horses that they are unable to catch, by shooting them through the upper part of the neck, which only stuns them a little—but if the shot is a little too low, the horse is killed. Doza the frenchman who was shot at might easily have been mistaken in the night for a Kaskaskias Indian.

I am utterly at a loss to know what to do with the Banditts of Creeks which have so long infested this Country. They are the most daring mischievous fellows in existance. The Settlers on the Ohio have suffered so much from them, that they say they can no longer bear with them. At the earnest solicitation of the People in that Quarter, I have authorized the Capt. of Militia with the concurrence of a Justice of the Peace to disarm them; if they do not attend to the solemn admonition which I have lately sent them. They are in the daily habit of committing every species of aggression excepting murder, and should they begin with this I know no other way of managing them than hunting them like wild beasts. For I am persuaded from their Characters that if any individual amongst them was to be brought to punishment, the families of many of our scattered Settlers would fall a sacrifice to the revenge of the others.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The Honorable

The Secretary of War.

Indian Murder

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes May 23rd 1807.

Wm. H. Harrison Relative to the murder of a Kaskaskias Indian supposed to be committed by some Kickapoos—Enclosing a letter from Michael Jones Esq.—his order to the commanding Officer of Militia and Speech to the Kickapoos.

The Kaskaskia Indians ought to receive the same protection in all respects as the white Citizens and, the same measures should be pursued towards any persons white or red, who injure them, as would be proper where injuries are received by white Citizens, and it will be proper to convince the Kaskaskia Chiefs of the determination of the Government to protect them as effectually as we would our white Citizens.

William H. Harrison to Henry Dearborn

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 11th July 1807.

Sir,

About five weeks ago I was informed that a Kaskaskias Indian had been killed and scalped a few miles from the Town of Kaskaskias and that the murder was supposed to have been perpetrated by the Kickapoos. I received also at the same time from the Chief Ducoigne a demand that the perpetrator should be sought after and brought to punishment. A few days after a party of Kickapoos who were in the neighbourhood of St. Louis waited on Gen'l Wm. Clark,* acknowledged that the murder had been committed by some of their Tribe, and requested Gen'l Clark's interfrance to make up the matter with the Kaskaskias declaring at the same time that the Tribe disavowed any participation in the murder or any wish to do injury to the Kaskaskias. Not having then heard of this conciliatory disposition on the part of the Kickapoos and believing from some circumstances which attended the murder that they intended further mischief, I immediately despatched a strong speech to the Chiefs demanding retribution for the past and satisfactory assurances of a disposition to maintain peace in future. Their answer was sufficiently conciliatory excepting that they made no mention of any intention to give up the murderer. They employed however the Shawanos and Delawares who resided on the west side of the Mississippi to go to the Kaskaskias with the property which had been taken from the murdered Indian and endeavour to settle the affair with Ducoign in the Indian way by presents and wampum. Ducoign would not agree to their proposals but referred them to me. He has however in the speeches he has sent me insisted in the strongest terms that the murderer should be delivered up and punished and declares that nothing less than his being hanged will satisfy him. The Kickapoos will however certainly not deliver up the murderers be the consequences what they may. It is with the utmost reluctance that these surrenders are made when white people are killed, but I am persuaded that no consideration on Earth could induce them to do it in the case of a murdered Indian; it is so contrary to their Ideas of propriety and to the universal practice of all the Tribes on the Continent. As Ducoign however insists upon it and the right to a protection as effectual as that which is enjoyed by our own Citizens is guaranteed to him by their Treaty, the attempt to get the murderer must be

*See note, page 75, this volume.

made. But as his persisting in having him punished by our Laws will draw down upon him the Jealousy and hatred of all the other Indians I shall endeavour to persuade him to submit to the mediation of the neighbouring Tribes and abide their award, which being made under my superintendence and influence will be as favorable to him and his Tribe as any that has been made in similar circumstances.

Mr. Wells informs me that he has made you several communications on the subject of the Shawanoe Prophet who attracts so much of the attention of several of the Tribes. I really fear that this said Prophet is an Engine set to work by the British for some bad purpose. A respectable Trader lately from Detroit informs me that he was told that McKee the British Indian Agent was lately seen to pass up the Miami of the Lake to Greenville where the Prophet resides and where there has been a considerable collection of Indians for many weeks. The Prophet contrives to have every Indian put to death who attempts to open the eyes of their infatuated country men and I am told that his vengeance has been particularly directed against those whom he suspects of an attachment to the United States. Two Delaware Chiefs* of this description were lately sent for from their hunting ground between this place and the Ohio one of them under guard. I have serious apprehensions for their safety. I have received information which cannot be doubted that war belts have been passing through all the Tribes from the Gulf of Florida to the Lakes.† The Shawanoes are the bearers of these belts and they have never been our friends. The Traders who are attached to our Government are unanimously alarmed and agreed in the opinion that a general combination of the Indians for a war against the United States is the object of all those messages and councils. My own opinion is that this is certainly the object but I hope and believe that it will not be accomplished. The several branches of the Miami Tribe are immovable in our interest. The Influential Chiefs of the Delawares are equally so, but if the machinations of the Prophet should be successful in getting these removed I cannot answer for the fidelity of the rest of the Tribe. They have certainly great cause of irritation against us in consequence of our being unable to bring to justice any one of those miscreants who have murdered their people. This is made a handle of by the malcontents amongst the other Tribes and has given a very unfavorable opinion of our impartiality and Justice. The apprehension and punishment of Red would at this time be attended with the most beneficial consequences. *He* if taken can be convicted—and in my opinion the

*The two victims were probably Tethtepoxski and "Billy" Patterson. (See note, pages 65, 67, this volume.) Another noted Indian chief who was a victim of the Prophet's vengeance was the Wyandotte chief "Shateyaronrah," or Leather-lips, whose name appears among the signatures to Wayne's famous treaty at Greenville. *Thatcher's Indian Biographies*, Vol. II., page 198.

†It was at this time that Tecumseh was laying the foundation of his confederacy of all the Indian tribes with which he hoped to overthrow the whites.

energy of the Government ought to be excited to apprehend him, both Justice and policy strongly demand it. I have offered \$300 for him several months ago. The sum ought in my opinion to be doubled or even tripled. It is true that the offence committed was against the Territorial Laws, but as the United States have by Treaty Guaranteed the safety of the Indians and the Territory is unable to bring him to justice, they could not in my opinion employ \$600 or \$1000 to a better object.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect, Sir,
Your Humble Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Honorable Henry Dearborn Esq.
Secretary of War.

P. S. There is a Mr. Lorimier* who resides on the Mississippi who has great influence over the Delawares and Shawanoes. I have thought of sending a confidential person to him to endeavour to ascertain from him the object of the frequent councils held by these Tribes and if he does not know to engage him to visit their settlements on the Head of White River and at Greenville for that purpose. I have the Honor to acknowledge the Receipt of your favor of the 16th May. The \$1000 therein mentioned shall be employed agreeably to your directions.

W. H. H.

To be sent to the President.

Vincennes July 11, 1807

Wm. H. Harrison—relative to the murder of a Kaskaskia by a Kickapoo The Shawonoe Prophet, etc.

Rec'd Aug. 1 1807.

William H. Harrison to Henry Dearborn

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 13th Aug. 1807.

Sir,

It is with great pleasure I inform you that the result of several Councils held by the Indians in this quarter has been an unequivocal and unanimous determination to preserve the Relations of

*Louis Lorimier was a native of Canada, who settled on a Spanish grant at Cape Girardeau in 1793. He had considerable influence with the Shawnee and Delaware Indians. He was one of the commissioners to lay out the town of Cape Girardeau when he died in 1812. He left a large estate to his children, one of whom was Louis, who was educated at West Point Military Academy, graduating in 1806. He served on the western frontier from 1806-1809, where he resigned and retired to Cape Girardeau to farm. He died Oct. 9, 1831. *Cullum's Biographical Register of Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy; Wisconsin Historical Society, Vol. XIX., page 265n.*

peace and amity with the U. S. from which they derive so much advantage. I pledge myself for the peaceable disposition of the Delawares, Miamis, Weas, El River, Lake Piankeshaws, Kickapoos and the greater part of the Shawanos. Overtures have been made to them both by the British and Spaniards which they have rejected with indignation. The speech from one of the Agents of the latter said to be in writing I expect to get possession of. The determination of the Council held at the Kickapoos Town at which the above mentioned Tribes were represented has been forwarded by them to the Indians of the Lakes.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect and Consideration,
Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The Honorable
The Secretary of War.

William H. Harrison to Henry Dearborn

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 29th August 1807.

Sirs,

Since my last I have made every exertion to ascertain the real disposition of the neighbouring Tribes and the cause of the stir and commotion which have existed amongst them for some time past. The avowed object of the latter is to cement a more perfect union and friendship amongst themselves as they have often been advised by the United States but to which I am persuaded they were stimulated in the present instance by British influence. I am confident however that the ultimate object of the British (which no doubt is that of forming a general confederacy against us) has not yet been communicated either to the Miamis, Weas, Delawares or even to the Kickapoos. The Shawanoes are certainly entirely devoted to the British as are a part of the Potawatamies, the Chippeways and Ottowas. From the enclosed deposition of Ducharme sent to me by Mr. Jovett, it would appear that the latter tribes have actually determined on commencing hostilities. I have adopted measures which I think cannot fail to put me in possession of the intentions of the British in this quarter; at least as far as they are known to the Indians. As soon as my Emisary returns, you shall be informed of every thing he may be able to discover. I am in the meantime doing all in my power to organize and discipline the Militia of the Territory. As it is almost impossible to find persons who are acquainted even with the rudiments of tactics, I am obliged to perform alternately the duties

of Commander in chief, Adjutant and even drill corporal. The habits of my early life are not however so far obliterated as to make this duty irksome or unpleasant, were it not for the great deficiency of arms and accoutrements. We have Cavalry without swords, light Infantry without bayonets or cartridge boxes, and battalions armed with a mixture of Rifles, fowling pieces, broken muskets and sticks. To a man accustomed to the uniformity of a regular and disciplined army, these things are really shocking. I must beg of you, Sir, to submit to the President the propriety of having our deficiency made up from the public arsenals. A small deposit of arms might be made with good effect at this place, at Kaskaskia or Cahokia, and Jeffersonville. The Militia of Dearborn County, the seat of Justice of which is not more than 18 miles from the Arsenal at Newport, might, in case of emergency, be supplied from thence.

I have not been able to collect the returns from the distant Counties of the volunteers who have offered on the terms of the late act of Congress. I am in hopes to be able to forward them to you in the course of a fortnight. Two troops of Cavalry; one of light infantry; one or two of select riflemen; and two or three others to be armed with rifles or muskets as the President may chuse, may I think be calculated on.

I am extremely anxious to know the President's determination on the subject of a supply of arms, etc. If he should direct them to be supplied, an order to Major Martin to send them on immediately to the places above designated would enable us to get them much sooner than if the order were in the first instance sent to me.

I have the Honour to be with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Honorable Henry Dearborn
Secretary of War.

Vincennes Aug. 29—'07.

Gov. Harrison—Relative to the disposition of the Indians—the state of the Militia. Enclosing Francois Ducharme deposition, etc.

Rec. Sept. 30, 1807.

If the President consents, 600 muskets, 600 cartridge boxes, 2000 flints, 6 barrels of powder should be ordered to Vincennes and Kaskaskia.

May it not be advisable to procure 2000 common rifles for the use of the Western Militia.

Francois Ducharme's Statement

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

This Day, Francois Ducharme personally appeared before me. John Kinzie a Justice of the Peace in the Presence of Charles Jovette Esquire, Indian Agent at the Post of Chicago and Maketh Oath that he verily believes that the Indians of St. Josephs are hostile to the United States and meditate an attack on some part of the American Settlements or garrisons, but at what time they will strike he cannot tell.

Signed ^{his} Francois X Ducharme
mark

Sworn before me this Six day of July 1807, at Chicago, Indiana Territory.

Signed J. Kinzie, Jus. P. Sinclair County.

I do hereby Certify that I have been Eleven years acquainted with Francois Ducharme and have every reason to believe his affidavit is entitled to Credit as a man of truth; he speaks the Potowatomie Tongue remarkably well and from a residence of many years with the Indians, and having among them an Indian wife and several children. I do not hesitate to state he is as likely to ascertain their views as any man within my knowledge.

Signed J. KINZIE.

William H. Harrison to Henry Dearborn

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes Sept. 5th 1807.

Sir,

The Letter herewith enclosed from Mr. Wells I received four days ago, and I at first thought it of sufficient importance to authorize my sending it by a special express, but upon conversing with Mr. Connor the Bearer of it, it appeared to me that there was no danger of hostilities being immediately commenced, altho' I do believe that the Chippeways, Ottawas and part of the Pottawatomies only wait for the signal from the British Indian Agents to commence the attack.

I have sent Connor with a Talk to the Shawnese requiring the immediate removal of the impostor* from our Territory and the dispersion of the Warriors he has collected around him. The British could not have adopted a better plan to effect their purpose of alienating from our Government, the affections of the Indians than employing this vile Instrument. It manifests at once their inveterate rancour against us and their perfect acquaintance with the Indian character. I think however that the Miamies, Weas, Delawares and Kickapoos have not as yet been seduced, and that we may rely on their fidelity. I believe their inclinations are on our side, but if that was not even the case, I am persuaded that they are too well acquainted with their interests to dare to lift the Tomahawk.

Wells has been endeavouring for some time past to get the Impostor removed from Greenville, by means of the Delawares and Shawnese, but without effect; he has also I believe threatened him with the vengeance of the United States, if he continues to excite disturbances amongst the Indians. To protect himself from this, is I imagine the reason of his retaining about him the armed pilgrims that have come from the Lakes to visit him. Connor says that 12 or 15 days ago they amounted to upwards of Three hundred men, and that a larger body were hourly expected. It would require a considerable force to remove those Fellows, and it is my opinion it should not be attempted, but with one that would leave nothing to hazard. Filled with enthusiasm as those wretches certainly are, they would no doubt defend the object of their Veneration with all their force, and an unsuccessful attempt to drive them off would confirm his influence and perhaps draw over to his party those tribes who now regard him with contempt. Believing that it was all important in the present Crisis to obtain correct information from the Indian Country and to secure the friendship of those who are best calculated to give it. I have appointed Mr. Connor Interpreter for the Delawares with the same pay as that Mr. Barron received and have directed him to employ himself altogether in developing the designs of the British and such of the Indians as they have gained over to their interests. I have entire reliance on his fidelity, and am confident, that he can do us much services. I have placed myself under no obligation to continue him longer than his services will be wanted. I trust that this step will meet the President's approbation.

*The Impostor here referred to is the famous Shawnee Prophet, Tenkwatawa, or Elkwatawa, brother of Tecumseh. About 1805 he assumed the character of a prophet and began to preach among the Indians against the white man and his "firewater." His influence spread over all the tribes in the United States and Canada. Together with his brother Tecumseh, who was the organizer, they planned the overthrow of the Americans, but their hopes were shattered by their defeat at the Battle of Tippecanoe. The Prophet did not fight in the War of 1812 but removed to Canada. In 1827 he removed with his tribe beyond the Mississippi, where he died in 1834. See *Wis. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XIX, page 322; *Thatcher's Indian Biographies*, Vol. II.

Since I had the honour to write to you on Saturday last, two other Companies of Volunteers consisting of young active Woodsmen have offered their services to the Country, alone will furnish a good Battalion from the other Counties there will be at least a sufficiency to form a Regiment or rather a Legionary Corps composed of Dragoons, Riflemen and Infantry.

I have the Honour to be with perfect respect,

Your most Obedient humble Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Honorable Henry Dearborn Esq.

William Wells to William H. Harrison

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Fort Wayne the 20 August 1807.

Dear Sir,

Since I wrote you on the 14 instant the Indians have continued to flock to Greenville which increases the fears of our frontiers. These Indians are from the Lakes near Mackanah, they appear to be deaf to everything I say to them, though I can see nothing among them that carries the appearance of danger.

Two confidential Indians that I sent to that quarter have returned to day and say that all the Indians in that quarter believe in what the prophet tells them which is that the great spirit will in a few years destroy every white man in America, that every Indian has made himself a *war club*, that the militia and military at Mackanah are constantly under arms and that they could hear no friendship expressed among the Indians for the United States. I am also this moment informed by a letter from Detroit that the inhabitants at that place are fortifying themselves.

It appears by information I this moment received that upwards of 200 Delawares have gone to meet the other Indians at the Kickapoo town in the prairie where it is expected 13 different nations will be represented.

The Delawares have received this invitation from the Miamies of Massasinwa to attend this council since Rusherville* returned from Detroit all the Miamies have refused to attend this Council 3 excepted Rusherville pecan† and the owl it is believed will be at this place tomorrow to receive their goods, and to cover their designs in assembling the Indians at the Kickapoo towns. None of the potawatomes from this quarter have gone to this council. This business as I before told you was kept a secret from the

*Richardville. See note, page 66, this volume.

†Peccan. See note, page 65, this volume.

Little turtle* the messenger sent from Massasinwa to the Delawares in delivering his message. Said he was directed to tell them (the Delawares) that this business must be kept a secret from the turtle the white loon† 5 medals and—Charley‡ as they wear big knives and ought not to know any thing about the affairs of the Indians. I believe the Pottawatomies, Miamies and Delawares are our friends. Lapasen is to be suspected—the prophet keeps up a communication with the British at Malden. We are all alarmed at this place, myself excepted as I consider no danger as yet at our doors.

Something must be done; it cannot be done too soon for the Indians are certainly pursuing an improper combination, one that is not friendly towards us, otherwise the Leaders in it would not keep it so much in the dark from every person that is friendly disposed towards the United States. I have sent Mr. Connor with this letter to you in order that you may receive all the information he possesses respecting the Delawares. I have promised him that you would reward him liberally for his trouble. Treat him well. He may be useful to us.

I shall do everything for the best and hope to receive such instructions from you as may be calculated to meet the present times as soon as possible.

It is my opinion that the British are at the bottom of all this business and depend on it that if we have war with them that many of the Indian tribes will take an active part against us, and nothing would have a better effect on the minds of the Indians than an immediate show of resentment on our part at their endeavouring to form unfriendly combinations towards us.

The prophet and his insolent band should be the first object of our resentment. He should be punished for his insolence.

I am Dear Sir, with respect, your

Most Obedient Servant,

W. WELLS.

Governor Harrison.

P. S. I despair of getting the Indians to move the prophet from Greenville, and I doubt whether matters can be kept in their present state until I have time to hear from you. The Miamies, Eel River Indians and Potawatomes will be at this place tomorrow. I shall treat them well and endeavour to get everything I can out of them and from time to time write you every thing that comes to my knowledge worthy your attention.

*See note, page 60, this volume.

†White Loon was a Wabash chief who signed the Treaty of Greenville. He was at the Grand Council at Fort Wayne, Sept. 4, 1811, and made a speech. His town was one of the three villages at Mississinewa which were burned by Col. Campbell. *Fergus Historical Series*, No. 26, page 73.

‡Charley was a Miami chief of the El River tribe and lived in one of the Mississinewa villages which Col. Campbell was ordered to destroy. Charley survived the war and was living as late as Oct. 6, 1818. He had a son called "Little Charley," who received a grant of land after his father's death, in 1826. *Fergus Historical Series*, No. 26, pages 69-70.

John Rice Jones to Messrs. Lasselle

Burton Hist. Colls., Vol. 933, Page 150.

Gentlemen/

Vincennes 13th Sept. 1807

Your brother will inform you that Mr. Barron has paid him \$400 on account of your debt—\$500 more I expect to get in a short time from a Judgment Barron has obtained in the Illinois agt a man of that place—This sum, I believe, is secure, and will be paid in a few months—I was offered Deer skins for it last week; but not thinking myself authorised to accept of them, especially at present precarious value of that article, I declined the offer, wishing rather to wait sometime for a better payment—Should you however choose to accept Skins, inform me so by your Brother's Return.

A Court of Chancery was for the first time held last month, and an order for an answer was made in your suit against Peltier; if it does not come in at the next term your Bill will stand confessed, and a Decree rendered in your favor. Should the answer come in I will forward you a Dedimus to take Depositions.

I am at a loss what to advise you to, relating to Barron; to Push him to Extremities may and I believe will, induce him to go to prison and come out by the Insolvent Act, in which Case your Chance of getting anything more from him, will be small indeed. To sell the little property he has would not answer your purpose, as the proceeds of Sale will be but twice to your demand. If he will pay you the annual Installment of \$1000 promised, the Debt will in a few years be paid and I rather think you had best accede to these terms. Your directions will however be obeyed, in whatever manner you think proper. The Judgment against Barron is a lien on all his real Estate and operates as a mortgage.

I am Gentlemen

Yours most obdltly

To Messrs Jacques and Frs. Lasselle
Merchants

JNO RICE JONES.

Detroit

John Rice Jones to Solomon Sibley

Burton Hist. Colls., Vol. 933, Page 198.

Dr Sir/

Vincennes 10 Dec. 1807

Yours of 16 october last was delivered by Mr. H. Lasselle, at a time when I was too ill to read much less to answer it. I have ever since been confined with the Influenza and a bilious

fever, and am at this moment scarcely able to write. Mr. Robinson's Departure tomorrow forces me to make the effort, tho with great pain & Trouble.

Inclosed you have a certified copy of the Injunction Bill and the Proceedings in the Suit of Lasselles agt Peltier; as also a Commission for taking Depositions in the Suit. You know the merits of the cause better than I do, and the proofs necessary to be adduced. You will before the Executive give Peltier reasonable written notice of the time and place of taking the Depositions, of which you will send an affidavit with the Depositions to this place. I shall not write Messrs. Lasselle being too weak & feeble to do it.

I will communicate that part of your letter regardg the Estate of Col Hamtramck to the Governor, as soon as he arrives from the Ohio where he now is, which will be in a few days.

On application to the Clerk of the General Court, he informs me, after a Search, that no appeal has been lodged in that Court in any Suit between Chapoton & Godfroy.

Interlocutory Judgment has been obtained in the Suit Visger agt the Robertson's but cannot obtain final Judgment for want of proofs.

I sent you a Dedimus long since, which has never been returned, inclosed you have another.

A Judgment of non pros has been long since obtained agt Patterson for Riley.

(I have seen Mr. Edgar lately—want of Cash is the only reason you are not paid—he has given me a letter of Attorney to sell 800 Acres of land he owns near this, and which I presume will shortly sell. As soon as it does, I will immediately remit your payment)

As soon as Tom Jones arrives from Pittsburgh, I will give him the Information contained in your your letter respecting his Suit with Abbott.

Excuse my breaking off abruptly which attribute only to Illness.

S. Sibley Esqr.

Detroit

Yours &c

JNO. RICE JONES

(To be continued.)

NOTE.

Through the efforts of Mr. Frank J. Metcalf, of Washington, D. C., it has been ascertained that the marriage records on pages 83-89 of this volume were the personal records kept by the Rev. Abisha Samson.

Rev. Abisha Samson, pastor Baptist Church, was born at Woodstock, Vt., Sept. 28, 1783, and first joined the Congregational Church. In 1805 he united with the First Baptist Church of Providence, R. I., and in June, 1806, was ordained. He at once entered upon his work. He was pastor of the church at Harvard, Mass., from 1812-1832; Southborough, Mass., from 1832-1840; Worcester, Mass., for four years, and then went to Washington, D. C., where he resided with his son, the Rev. G. W. Samson, president of Columbian College. He died there June 24, 1861. *Cathcart's Baptist Encyclopedia, Philad., 1881, Vol. II., page 1024.*

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MANUSCRIPTS AND RECORDS
FROM THE
BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION

VOLUME I

OCTOBER, 1917

NUMBER 5

ORDERLY BOOK OF COL. JOHN P. BOYD
AND EXTRACTS 1811-1812

FORT INDEPENDENCE AND WABASH

Sub District Main Quarters

Boston April 21st 1811.

Sir,

In obedience to the Instructions from the Adj't. and Inspector of the 16th inst. herewith enclosed, Capt. Prescott* will immediately embark with his company and proceed for New York, there report to and receive the orders of Major Stoddard.† You will

*Capt. George Washington Prescott was born in Kittery, Me., Jan. 8, 1776. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1795 and practiced law in Haverhill, Mass., and Portsmouth, N. H. He enlisted in the army from New Hampshire and was made captain in the 4th Infantry, June 18, 1808. He fought in the Battle of Tippecanoe and took part in the early years in the War of 1812, resigning Aug. 15, 1813. He returned to his practice in Portsmouth and in 1814 was appointed clerk of the U. S. District Court of New Hampshire. In 1816 he was made judge of the Court of Common Pleas and died in office. He was married twice, his first wife being Abigail Long, daughter of Col. Pierse Long, and his second wife, Mary Grafton. He had seven children. *The Bench and Bar of New Hampshire*, by Bell, page 596; *Heitman's Hist. Reg. and Dict. of U. S. Army*.

†Major Stoddard. See note, page 104, this volume.

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21/11/18

be pleased to make such arrangements for the accommodation and comfort of the Troops as shall appear necessary.
Capt. J. B. Walbach‡

Portsmouth.

With &c.

Signed J. P. Boyd§
Col. 4th Regt. Infy.
C. S. M. D.

¶Fort Independence April 24th 1811.

Sir,

Agreeable to orders this moment received which says "Instead of sailing for New York, you will please instruct Capt. Prescott to sail for the Lazaretto,|| Philadelphia, from thence this company will march with you." In conformity with these instructions you will please alter the destination of Capt. Prescott to the post pointed out by the War Department Lieutenant Smith will

‡John DeBarth Walbach was born in Germany and enlisted from Pennsylvania. On Jan. 8, 1799, he was appointed lieutenant of Light Dragoons and on June 15, 1800, was honorably discharged. In 1801 he again entered the service, being appointed lieutenant in the Second Company of Artillerists and Engineers. He served through the War of 1812 and was brevetted major for gallant service in the Battle of Chrystler's Field, U. C. On May 1, 1815, he was advanced to lieutenant colonel and on May 1, 1825, was made colonel. Nov. 11, 1823, he was brevetted brigadier general for meritorious services and died June 10, 1857. *Heitman's Historical Register and Dictionary of the U. S. Army; Hamersly's Army Register of the U. S., 1799-1879.*

§John Parker Boyd was born in Newburyport, Mass., Dec. 21, 1764, and was therefore too young to take part in the War of Independence. In 1786 he became an ensign in the U. S. Army, but finding the service dull and uninteresting he formed a small company of mercenaries and tried his fortune in Hindustan in 1789. He hired his soldiers to several of the native princes and chiefs of India for some years. In 1806 he sold out and returned to the United States, where he was made colonel of the 4th U. S. Infantry, July 7th, 1808. In 1811 he was ordered west and there joined General Harrison in his expedition up the Wabash against the Indians. He kept a journal of the expedition. On Aug. 26, 1812, he was commissioned brigadier general and took part in the capture of Fort George on the Niagara River, May 27, 1813. In the same year he fought at the Battle of Chrysler's Field near Montreal. He was honorably discharged June 15, 1815, and was appointed naval officer of the port of Boston, which office he held until his death. In 1816 he published "Documents and Facts Relative to Military Events During the Late War," a small pamphlet in defense of his conduct. He was a good officer and it is said that on leaving Boston "his regiment formed a happy example of modern discipline." He is described as being "a tall, showy man, handsome with his war paint on, his red wig and face of the same color, artificially heightened, he strutted the streets with military swagger and slightly military costume and performed the duties of naval officer to the satisfaction of President Jackson. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vols. 1 and 18; Niles' Register, Vols. 2, 8 and 12; Appleton's Cyclopaedia of Biography; Lossing's History of the War of 1812; History of the Boyd Family and Descendants with Historical Sketches, by William P. Boyd, Rochester, 1912, page 166.* Many of Boyd's letters are printed in the *Niles' Register*. There is a wood cut of him in *Lossing's War of 1812, page 194.*

¶Fort Independence, Mass., on Castle Island in Boston Harbor, still under control of the War Department and occupied by troops.

||The Lazaretto was a group of buildings on the Schuylkill River, five miles below Philadelphia, which were used at this time as barracks for 400 men. They were used at various times as a prison and as a retreat for those fleeing from the cholera scare in Philadelphia. The buildings occupied ground which was the site of the old "Printz Hall." *American State Papers, Military Affairs, Vol. 1; History of Philadelphia, by Sharf and Wescott.*

proceed with Capt. Prescott's Company and join Capt. Brown's[▲] Company at the Lazaretto.

Sir, your obedient Servant

Capt. Jno. B. Walbach,
Portsmouth.

Signed JNO. P. BOYD
Col. 4th Regt. Infy.
C. S. M. D.

Fort Independence April 24th 1811.

Sir,

Agreeable to orders from the Honorable the Secretary of War* you will march immediately for New Port Rhode Island, and report to Major Porter or Officer commanding, except Lieutenant Whiting,† a careful sergeant, one Corporal and six privates to remain at New Bedford.

Capt. James Thomas‡
U. S. Light Dragoons
New Bedford.

Signed JNO. P. BOYD
Col. 4th Regt. Infy.
C. D.

Sub District Main Quarters

Fort Independence April 24, 1811.

Regimental Order,

The troops of the 4th Regiment at this Post will hold themselves ready to embark for Philadelphia, from the zeal of the officers and soldiers of the Regiment the Colonel is assured of their exertions in promoting the appearance and discipline of the Regiment.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy.,
C. S. M. D.

[▲]Capt. Return B. Brown, born in Vermont, enlisted from Vermont, captain 4th Infantry, March 18, 1809; major 31st Infantry, March 9, 1814; honorably discharged June 15, 1815. *Heitman's Hist. Reg. and Dict. of U. S. Army.*

*Secretary of War William Eustis, 1809-1813.

†Lieut. Henry Whiting, born in Massachusetts, enlisted from Massachusetts and began his career as corporal of Light Dragoons, Oct. 20, 1803. He rose to brigadier general, which office he obtained for gallant and meritorious conduct in the Battle of Buena Vista, Mexico. He died in Detroit, Mich., Sept. 16, 1851, and is buried in Elmwood Cemetery. His sons Henry and William grew to manhood in Detroit. William entered the navy and died after having served with distinction in the Civil War and obtained the rank of admiral. *Heitman's Hist. Reg. and Dict. of U. S. Army; Early Days in Detroit, by Friend Palmer.*

‡Capt. James Thomas, born in Massachusetts, enlisted from that state; was captain of Light Dragoons, July 1, 1808; resigned Nov. 1, 1811; major deputy quartermaster general, Sept. 1, 1812; colonel quartermaster general, April 28, 1813; honorably discharged June 15, 1815; died March 8, 1842. *Heitman's Hist. Reg. and Dict. of U. S. Army.*

Sub District Main Quarters,
Fort Independence April 23rd 1811.

Garrison Order,

During the indisposition of the acting adjutant, Lieut. Eastman§ is directed to perform the duty, until otherwise ordered.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy.

Sub District Main Quarters
Fort Independence May 1st 1811.

Regimental order,

Lieut. Charles Larrabee¶ of Capt. Ranney's|| Co'y having reported himself at Main Quarters, will embark and proceed with the Troops ordered to Pittsburgh. Lieutenant Parker Greenough* is ordered to proceed immediately to Fort Sewall†; report himself to Capt. Ranny and join his command.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy.

Sub District Main Quarters
Fort Independence May 2nd 1811.

Sub District Order,

The Sub District Commandant being ordered on a distant command, and taking leave of the district for a time, the Commands

§Lieut. John Langdon Eastman was the son of Jonathan Eastman and was born at Concord, N. H., Dec. 31, 1786. He married Mary Osgood. He joined the 4th Infantry in 1808 and served until the close of the War of 1812, being honorably discharged on June 15, 1815, with the rank of major assistant inspector general. He was reinstated as captain of Light Artillery in 1816 and dismissed Nov. 4, 1823. He died at Fryeburg, Me., June 12, 1865. His father fought in the Revolution. *Eastman Genealogy, Vol. 1, pages 152-153 and 302; Heitman's Hist. Reg. and Dict. of U. S. Army.*

¶Lieut. Charles Larrabee was born in Connecticut and enlisted from that state. He was appointed 2nd lieutenant of Light Dragoons June 13, 1808, and 1st lieutenant of 4th Infantry June 12, 1809. He fought in the War of 1818 and lost his left arm in the Battle of Brownstown, Mich., for which and his gallant conduct he was brevetted major, Aug. 9, 1812. He resigned April 7, 1825. *Heitman's Hist. Reg. and Dict. of U. S. Army.*

||Capt. Stephen Ranney was born in Connecticut and served two years during the Revolution in the 2nd Connecticut Regiment. He remained in active service and was appointed captain of the 13th Infantry Feb. 13, 1799. The following year he was honorably discharged but returned to active service in 1808 and served through the War of 1812. He was appointed lieutenant colonel May 15, 1814. He died Sept. 7, 1827. *Heitman's Hist. Reg. and Dict. of U. S. Army.*

*Lieut. Parker Greenough joined the 1st Infantry and was an ensign Dec. 12, 1808; in 1810 he was transferred to the 4th, and on Feb. 20, 1811, was made 2nd lieutenant, which rank he held until he was honorably discharged June 15, 1815. He was made a prisoner during the War of 1812. In 1820 he lived in Haverhill, Mass., and was interested in the manufacture of hats. *Heitman's Hist. Reg. and Dict. of U. S. Army; Chase's History of Haverhill, Mass., page 542.*

†Fort Sewall was located at Marblehead, Mass.

of Fort Independence and Warren* devolves on Capt. Freeman who will please to accept his thanks for friendly aid and advice on many occasions.

The support and zealous cooperation which he has experienced from the officers in the district and their regularity and correctness of duty have impressed him with a high sense of the worth of every person composing it, and begs leave to assure the officers and men of his lasting regard and esteem.

The officers commanding Posts in the district will direct their reports to Capt. E. Beebe Brigade Inspector New York until otherwise ordered by superior authority.

Lieutenant Col. Miller† of the 5th Regt. will embark with and take charge of the Troops destined for the Lazaretto, near Philadelphia. He will direct the Quarter Master of the 6th Regiment to make such arrangements for the ease and convenience of the Troops, while on their passage, as he deems judicious and necessary.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th U. S. Infy. C. S. M. D.

Lazaretto Barracks
near Philadelphia, May 24th 1811.

Detachment Orders,

The companies of the 4th Regiment of Infantry and the Company of the Rifle Regiment now at the Station will commence their march from Pittsburgh as soon as the necessary transportation for their baggage can be procured. The arrangement for the march will be communicated to the Troops in after orders.

*Fort Warren was on the summit of Governor's Island in Boston Harbor. It was an enclosed star fort of mason work with a brick barracks and quarters, magazine and guard house. *American State Papers, Military Affairs, 1, page 238.* Fort Winthrop later occupied the site.

†James Miller was born in Peterboro, N. H., April 25, 1776. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1803. He began the practice of law in the town of Greenfield, where he was in command of the company of artillery attached to the 26th regiment of New Hampshire Militia. Through the efforts of Gen. Benj. Pierce he was appointed major of the 4th regiment of U. S. Infantry under Col. J. P. Boyd. his commission taking rank from July 8, 1808. Illness prevented him from taking an active part in the Battle of Tippecanoe. However, he proceeded to Detroit in 1812 and distinguished himself throughout the remainder of the War of 1812, especially at the Battle of Lundy's Lane. For his bravery and good conduct he was brevetted a brigadier general and received a gold medal from Congress. He resigned his commission in the army in 1819 and was appointed governor of Arkansas Territory. He held that office until March, 1825, when he was appointed collector of the port of Salem, Mass., which position he held for twenty-four years (until 1849), when he was prostrated by paralysis. He died July 7, 1851, at Temple, N. H. He was the author of a book entitled "Hero of Tippecanoe, or a Story of the Life of William Henry Harrison, Related by Captain Miller to His Boys." A bill to erect a statue to the memory of General Miller was introduced in Congress and passed the Senate, but has never been acted upon in the House. *Lossing's War of 1812, page 620; Senate Report 116, 62nd Congress, 1st Session; History of Peterboro, N. H.; Geneal. and Hist. of Peterboro Families, page 150.*

The Colonel wishes to impress upon the minds of his Command the ignominy and disgrace which attends the crime of theft and the defrauding the Inhabitants of the country through which they pass crimes completely destructive to the Honourable Character of a soldier and reflective of disgrace upon his whole Corps. Should any one of the Col.'s command be so lost to a sense of the Honorable Station he has to support, severe and exemplary shall be his punishment. But the Col. most firmly believes that the Troops which he has the honor to command, will by their correct and soldierly conduct prove themselves true descendants of those virtuous patriots who during the revolutionary war proved to the World that the Title of a Yankee Soldier was not one of reproach but one of honor. The eyes of the citizens of Philadelphia are upon you and you are therefore called upon by everything dear to you as Soldiers and as Yankees to prove to them by your correct conduct that you have not degenerated from your fore fathers. The Col. cannot but believe that every one under his command will with alacrity perform his duty, yet in the present instance he cannot refrain from again impressing on their minds the importance of the Character they have to support. Yankee Troops, passing through the Western States, have been more circumspect than others, and for this single reason more is expected from them.

Then Soldiers, on you in a great measure depends to have it said hereafter that my Command passed through this State without disorder and without any crimes being committed injurious or disrespectful to themselves or officers.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Lazaretto Barracks, May 26th, 1811.

Detachment Order,

The Troop at this station will be prepared to march at 7 o'clock tomorrow morning. The strictest attention to discipline will be rigidly enforced from the Officers and men. The Quarter Master will daily provide the necessary conveniences for them. 10 minutes after the general the assembly will beat and the daily march commence. A Captain will be detailed for Officer of the day, and a subaltern one Sergeant, Two Corporal, and 40 Privates for Guard; their orders will be communicated to them by the commanding Col. The Col. has the fullest confidence in the honor of his Corps and their patriotic zeal, and believes that they will not in any manner tarnish their reputation by unmilitary conduct.

Reflect Soldiers, that you are Yankee Troops, and convince the Citizens of these Western States that you are the honest and patriotic descendants of those worthy heroes who bore a very great share in the achievement of the American Independence.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Carlisle June the 5th 1811.

Detachment order,

The troops will resume their march tomorrow at 6 o'clock in the morning.

The Commanding Officers of Companies will be pleased immediately to make correct arrangements for the baggage of their companies. All superfluous articles are to be left or destroyed. The accoutrements of the soldiers to be fitted so that they may march with the greatest ease. And their shoes and stockings examined, every man unless excused by the surgeon, or his own officers, to carry his complete accoutrements.

The Quarter Master will be particularly attentive that the best arrangements are made for the convenience of the men that their rations are served and other duties performed immediately on the troops going into their tents. He or his Quarter Master Sergeant will proceed in front to provide the necessaries for the men.

The duty of Police Officer continues as heretofore at every halt, at least one Officer will remain with each Company; the men's tents pitched with the greatest dispatch, on the ground being marked out by the Quarter Master, and struck altogether at the first stroke of the General. The baggage wagons will be loaded under the immediate inspection of an Officer, the tents to be rolled according to Stuben* and every individual exertion is expected from the zeal of the detachment for the good of the service.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

*At this time many of the states were training their troops according to the regulations set down in "*Rules for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*," by Baron F. W. von Steuben. Baron Steuben became interested in the American cause during the Revolution and offered his services to Washington. Having distinguished himself during the war he settled in New York State near Utica (Steubenville), where he died Nov. 28, 1794. He was made inspector general with the rank of major general and instituted a thorough system of discipline and economy in the army. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of Biography*.

Encampment at Horse Valley, June 9th 1811.

Detachment Order,

Sergeant Hauder is reduced to the ranks, for being drunk, neglectful of duty, and insolent while on guard.

Ephraim Churchill† by the recommendation of his Captain is reinstated a Sergeant. To prevent the shameful practice of purchasing liquor while on the march, the Col. hereby most pointedly forbids the soldiers of the detachment purchasing any liquor or entering any house while on the march or encampment without the special permission of their respective officers. It is with reluctance that the Col. issues such an order, but it becomes absolutely necessary from the shameful instances of intoxication which have reflected so much dishonour on the detachment.

Fort Fayette,* June the 21st 1811.

Detachment order,

At the same time that the Commanding Officer congratulates the detachment on their arrival at this Garrison, after so tedious a march he feels a satisfaction in testifying his approbation of their good conduct while on the march. To Lieut. Col. Miller, and the officers of the detachment his best thanks are due.

The troops having acquired the approbation of the Honorable Secretary, which was communicated to them yesterday will ever be emulous of preserving it.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Fort Fayette, June 23rd 1811.

D. Garrison order,

The officer of the day, Guard and Police, will not be absent from the Garrison more than half an hour at a time, and then only one at a time, the Field & Staff will attend all dress parades. All Citizens will be excluded the Garrison without they are introduced by, or have the Permission of the Officers of the day.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

†Ephraim Churchill was a soldier in Capt. Snelling's company.

*Fort Fayette at Pittsburg, also called Fort Lafayette.

Detachment Main Quarters,
Fort Fayette, July 16th, 1811.

Regimental order,

The Major of the Regiment not having yet joined, the Senior Captain present will take charge of the Regimental Book, and be responsible for the correctness of the same he will be excused from the duties of the officer of the day and will pay particular attention to the discipline and police of the Garrison.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Main Quarters,
Fort Fayette, July 26th 1811

Detachment order,

Pursuant to the order of the Honorable Secretary of War, the Detachment will hold themselves ready to embark for Louisville, Kentucky. From the known zeal of the New England Troops it is only necessary to say that our Citizens have been robbed and wantonly massacred by Indians, our country calls and expects our aid, and cannot be disappointed.

Those vile and perfidious scoundrels who have deserted their colours while on command cannot expect to remain long unpunished, yet however distant, the day must come, when they will receive the punishment due to their crimes.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Main Quarters,
Fort Fayette, July 27th 1811.

Detachment order,

Conformably to the Commands of the Honoble Secretary of War, a Detachment consisting of Lieut. Hawkins,* one Sergeant, one Corporal and ten Riflemen, will embark tomorrow morning

*Lieut. Abraham Hawkins, a native of Connecticut, was appointed in command of a company of riflemen in place of Capt. Whitney. He was made an ensign in the 4th Infantry June 18, 1805; 2nd lieutenant June 15, 1809; 1st lieutenant Aug. 25, 1811; captain Sept. 2, 1813, and honorably discharged June 15, 1815. He was taken prisoner at the surrender of Detroit in 1812. *A Journal of Two Campaigns of the Fourth Regiment of U. S. Infantry in the Michigan and Indiana Territories, under the Command of Col. John P. Boyd and Lieut. Col. James Miller During the Years 1811 and 1812*, by Adam Walker, Keene, N. H., 1816; *Heitman's Reg. and Dict. of U. S. Army*.

under the direction of Captain Piatt† who is directed to descend the river, in order to make the necessary arrangements for the reception of the main body at Newport or Louisville.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Fort Fayette, June 27th 1811.

D. Garrison order,

One or more commissioned Officers will inspect their Companies on their respective parade, and receive their morning report from the orderly Sergeant in which all extraordinaries that have occurred for the last Twenty four hours are to be inserted, signed by the officer, and handed by the Sergeant to the Adjutant at orderly hours.

One Commissioned Officer of each Company to visit the Rooms of the Barracks immediately after tattoo, and report all irregularities.

Non commissioned officers of squads are to be responsible that their men have their arms, accoutrements and clothing always ready for duty, and to allow no one to take his Gun to pieces without permission of his commanding officer and then only under their direction, nor to apply for a pass unless they are satisfied as to their fitness for duty. From two to four Privates may be absent from a Company at a time; their passes to be written on clean and vizable paper, to be handed to the orderly Sergeant by the non commissioned officer of the Squad, who will present it to the Commanding Officer of the Company for his signature, and then to the Adjutant at orderly hours, for the approbation of the Commanding Officer. It will then be handed to the officer of the day by the Soldier who is authorized to take it from him if he is not cleanly dressed; and in complete uniform. Non commissioned officers will apply immediately to the officer of their company and report to the Commanding Officer; and all applications must be made the evening before.

Officers waiters must have passes, and be in decent dress and not to blend the soldier with the citizen.

The Commanding Officers of Companies will be particular in the weekly inspection of the clothing, arms and accoutrements of their men and if any improper use loss waste or deficiency appear, it shall be reported, and a stoppage of pay made agreeable to regulation.

†Capt. William Piatt fought through the War of 1812, was wounded at the siege of New Orleans and honorably discharged June 15, 1815. He died Aug. 16, 1834. *Heitman's Hist. Reg. and Dict. of U. S. Army.*

Fifteen minutes after Reveille the Drums and Fifes will play Yankee Doodle in front of the Barracks, when the morning drill will commence, and continue until half past six o'clock then be dismissed for breakfast, and to prepare for the Parade at half past seven. The Commissioned Officers will be particularly attentive that their men turn out at Reveille.

It is expected that the officer will attend every drill, half of the waiters will be on drills and parades; the drills for the afternoon will be ordered at the morning parade.

The Sutler will be allowed to sell (of Liquors) to each soldier one gill of whiskey and two pints of Beer at three different periods in the day.

A strict and close attention will be paid to the conduct of the Soldiers towards the citizens of this Town. Should any one be found guilty of detracting from the good character of the Regiment he will be severely punished.

A commissioned officer from each company will attend to the issuing of the rations for their men (at which time the Drum will play roast beef) and see that they are such as the contract allows; and for preserving order and cleanliness in the Garrison, and regularity in messing they will be particularly governed by Steubens.

One hour before morning parade the Drum and fife will play peas upon the trenches for Breakfast, at Twelve o'clock A. M., likewise for dinner, and one hour before retreat beating for supper, at which several beats of the drum, the rations will be cooked.

In addition to the Rolls now called there will be one at Twelve o'clock A. M. and at 4 P. M. which a Commanding Officer will attend, and the men will only be detailed to answer to their names.

Signed JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

D. M. Qrs., Fort Fayette July 3rd 1811.

Garrison orders,

Tomorrow being the anniversary of our National Independence, the Troops will be under arms at half past 12 o'clock, and formed on the parade with 4 pieces of cannon on the right, from which a National Salute will be fired precisely at one o'clock, and an extra ration of liquor will be issued to the troops on the occasion.

Men who have the honor to bear arms in the service of their Country, know how to appreciate the day; and will conduct themselves with the propriety due to themselves the army and the Government.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Fort Fayette, July 6th 1811.

Garrison order,

From the shameful and abusive practices of overstaying passes together with the cowardly act of desertions which have recently occurred it becomes necessary to suspend the privilege of passes till further orders unless on some special occasions when they will be granted.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Fort Fayette, July 12th 1811.

The Commanding Officers of Companies will prevent as much as possible the ill consequences of having too many soldiers married, even good women are in some instances a clog to the Regiment, and those of irregular habits are ruinous to the soldiers. Therefore they will not enter into such engagements without the express permission of the Commanding Officer.

It has been reported that there are soldiers in the Garrison audacious enough to make desertion a theme of conversation; any non commissioned officer or soldier hereafter who shall hear such unsoldierlike and disagreeable conversation and not report the same shall be subject to the penalty of disobedience of orders.

It is with sincere regret that the Col. is obliged to observe in some instances a hesitation to duty. The Troops he has the proud satisfaction and honor to command are sensible that discipline is the basis of our profession and that the good order and correctness of the Troops depends on their officers in whose zeal for the good of the service the Colonel confides and sincerely wishes that officers would not enter into nice disquisitions concerning the extent of command, and other points of duty, which has no other effect than to raise disputes, but recommends a zealous attention to the regularity of the Service, without subordination to quote the authority of an eminent Military Writer, "It is impossible that a Corps can support itself, order be established, or the service carried on. In effect it is subordination that gives soul and harmony to the service: it adds strength to authority, and merit to obedience; and while it secures the efficacy of command, reflects honor upon its execution. It is subordination that prevents every disorder, and procures every advantage to an army."

The flattering approbation of the Secretary to the Soldier like conduct of the Detachment while on their march, enforces his injunctions to have each Company perfect in discipline. It is therefore enjoined on the officers commanding companies to

cause their companies to be drilled and exercised daily, when the weather will permit a commissioned officer to inspect the same. It is earnestly recommended to the officers who are possible of the greatest military knowledge to distinguish their companies with the most correct discipline.

There will be two field days each week, when it is intended to fire blank cartridges, no dereliction from regular duty will be expected.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Fort Fayette July 28th 1811.

Regimental orders,

The injury occasioned to the muskets by the men frequently taking them to pieces is such that it becomes a serious evil. Therefore the commanding officer hereby forbids any soldier hereafter taking his arms to pieces, or even drawing a screw without the express permission of the Commanding Officer of his company, who will judge of the necessity and direct accordingly. Neither to use their ram rods nor bayonets as screw drivers. Any one who dares infringe this order will be severely punished. This to be considered a standing order.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Detachment Main Quarters July 30th 1811.

Detachment order,

Those pitiful cowards, who in time of ignoble ease, dared to enter the Honorable trade of War, at a distance, and have now disgraced themselves and dishonoured our Corps, by perfidious desertion,* will be advertised in all the papers on the sea coast, and in the Towns to which they belong; therefore there cannot be a chance of their escaping the punishment due to them. Their name will be forwarded to the War Office, and every exertion made for their apprehension. As long as they live, Government will pursue them. Should there yet remain a dastard who has assumed the glorious profession and now shrinks, when his coun-

*When they began their march the soldiers did not know their destination and some, fearing that they were being sent to New Orleans, where so many had died the year previous, deserted. *American State Papers, Military Affairs, 1, pages 268-295; Walker's Journal of Two Campaigns, etc.*

try calls for his aid, let him come forward, and acknowledge himself a mean cowardly wretch who imposed himself on the Corps, and his Country, and he shall receive the pity and contempt of those brave fellows, who love their duty, their country and profession. The Colonel wishes to implant on the minds of cowards that the most severe punishment will hereafter be executed on Deserters. The articles of War declare the wretch shall suffer death.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Fort Fayette July 31st 1811.

Detachment orders,

Conformably to the orders of the 17th inst. from the Honorable Secretary of War, the Detachment will hold themselves in readiness to embark on Friday morning to descend the river, and will proceed in the following order. Men and baggage equally divided.

- Boat No. 1. Col. Boyd Mann'd from the Riflemen and Captain Snellings Company.*
- " " 3. Staff Officers and remainder of Capt. Snelling's Company.
- " " 4. Capt. Cook and Lieut. Borden.
- " " 5. " Prescott and Lt. Hill.
- " " 6. " Brown and Lt. Smith.
- " " 7. " Barton and Lt. Peckham.
- " " 8. " Welch and Lt. Gooding.
- " " 9. Lieut. Burton† and Lt. Larrabee.
- " " 10. Lieut. Way
- " " 11. Lieut. Peters and Burchstead.
- " " 2. Lieut. Col. Miller, Capt. Wentworth and Doctor Foster.‡

*Capt. Josiah Snelling of the 4th U. S. Infantry, after having served with credit at the Battle of Tippecanoe, served throughout the War of 1812. He was brevetted major for his bravery at Brownstown. He was captured by the British and Indians on a march to Detroit but escaped to Fort Shelby, Detroit. At the surrender of Detroit by Hull he was again taken prisoner and carried to Montreal. He was appointed colonel of the 5th Infantry on June 1, 1819. In 1823 he was sent to command at the fort near Minnesota River, which afterward took his name. He was a witness against Hull at the latter's trial. He married Abigail, daughter of Col. Thomas Hunt, and died at Washington, Aug. 20, 1828. *Wisconsin Hist. Colls., Vols. V, page 141, and XX, page 385; Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography.*

†Oliver G. Burton was born in Vermont and appointed to West Point from that state. He graduated June, 1808, and was appointed 1st lieutenant in the 4th Infantry. He fought in the Battle of Tippecanoe and served in the War of 1812 in the Battle of Brownstown. At the surrender of Detroit he was taken prisoner and was exchanged in 1814. He served as military storekeeper at West Point, N. Y., 1816-1820, and died Feb. 22, 1821, at Matanzas, W. I. *Cullum's Biographical Register of the United States Military Academy.*

‡Dr. Josiah D. Foster, on the general staff of Harrison's brigade, was born and enlisted in Massachusetts as surgeon of the 4th Infantry, Dec. 12, 1808. In 1812 he was hospital surgeon and Dec. 22, 1812, he died. *Filson Club No. 15, The Battle of Tippecanoe, by Pirtle; Heitman's Hist. Reg., etc.*

Detachment Main Quarters, Camp at Custard
Island 43 miles from Pittsburgh Aug. 2nd 1811.

Detachment orders,

Parole Newport, Countersign Ohio.

The Detachment will reembark tomorrow morning at sunrise, and immediately proceed down the river. Rations for tomorrow will be issued and cooked immediately.

Signed, JOHN P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Detachment Main Quarters, Camp on the
Ohio 98 miles below Pittsburgh, August 3rd, 1811.

Detachment order,

Parole Virginia Countersign Kentucky.

The troops will reembark tomorrow morning early, and proceed down the River, Officers will be pleased to remain with their boats as much as possible. The line of boats will form according to numbers, the distance from each boat to be three lengths.

On the Debarkation of the Troops to encamp, or for refreshment, they are instantly to form by companies and not to move from them before the sentries are posted without special permission of their officers. The quarter master will cause places to be assigned for their retirement.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Detachment Main Quarters, Camp Marietta,
August 4th 1811.

Detachment order,

Officer Day tomorrow Capt. Welch, Guard Lt. Burton, Police
Parole Muskingham, Countersign Wayne.

Lieut. Way.

The troops will reembark tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock and proceed down the river, duty the same as yesterday.

Signed, J. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Main Quarters on board keel boat N. Y.
on the Ohio River 8 miles below Scioto
August 7th, 1811.

Detachment order,

Parole New England Countersign Mariette

Officer Day tomorrow Capt. Barton, Guard Lt. Larrabee, Police Lt. Burton.

The troops will remain on board the boats this night, and continue to descend the river, forming as last night, and keep as near each other as conveniently will admit, and row four oars each boat. They will land at some convenient place early tomorrow, for refreshments, and no one will presume to go beyond the bank without express permission of his officer. The oarsmen will daily receive extra liquor, if the officers of the boats judge them deserving.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Detachment Main Quarters
U. S. Garrison Newport, Aug. 10th 1811.

Detachment orders,

Parole Vincennes, Countersign Boston.

Officer of the day tomorrow Capt. Snelling, Guard Lt. Hill, Police Lt. Peckham.

The Detachment being now on service, and the moment perhaps not distant, when we shall be called to active duty, imposes the imperious necessity of our arms and ammunition being in perfect order. The officers of companies will therefore use every exertion to place their men in their respective Companies in readiness for action, and immediately report every deficiency. The present moment requires exertions that surmount all difficulties, and demands more than common duty. The Commanding Officer is well aware of the laudable ardour of the Officers and troops of the Command, and places implicit reliance on their zealous cooperation for the public good. He desires the officers may be as much as possible with their men, and one or more officers to be ever present with their companies. Blank cartridges will be immediately made and the troops improve their firing. Ball cartridges will be served and the troops will fire at a target, a prize will be offered to the best shot, and the police drudgery will be awarded to the worst.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

D. M. Quarters, U. S. Garrison Newport,
August 11th 1811.

Detachment order,

Parole Butler, Countersign Braddock.
Officer of the day tomorrow Capt. Welch, Guard Lt. Gooding,
Police Ensign Burchstead.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Detachment Main Quarters, Aug. 12th 1811
Detachment order,

It was observed yesterday that the Troops were unusually unsteady, while under arms, and as it is impossible to bring a battalion to any degree of perfection without implicit attention to the word of command any soldier who shall presume after the word Attention, to move his head, hands or feet, before he is ordered to rest shall be immediately brought to the drum head, and punished with severity.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. C. D.

Dist. Main Quarters, U. S. Garrison
Newport, August 12th 1811.
Regimental order,

Corporal Turner was yesterday reduced to the Ranks, a non commissioned officer who cannot perform his own duty with expertness, and is not ready and able to teach others their duty, must not expect to rank in the 4th Regiment.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

D. M. Quarters, Newport Aug. 9th 1811.
Detachment order,

The Commanding Officer congratulates the detachment on the arrival at this place, which for the present he will make his main quarters and assume the immediate command of the Garrison.

The intrepid and soldierlike conduct of Corporal Humphreys of the 4th Regiment, who plunged into the Ohio, and rescued a brother soldier from death, merits and receives a just encomium. He is hereby promoted to the rank of Sergeant.

To prevent a multiplicity of orders, the Garrison orders issued at Pittsburgh will be considered in force at this Garrison.

Per order Signed, J. L. EASTMAN,
Acting Adjutant.

D. M. Quarters, U. S. Garrison
Newport, August 14th 1811

Detachment order,

Parole, Countersign

Officer of the day tomorrow Capt. Cook, Guard Lieut. Borden,
Police Lt. Fuller.

Detachment Main Quarters,
U. S. Garrison Newport, August 15th 1811.

Detachment order,

The Articles of War to be read to the Detachment by Companies, to commence tomorrow morning when twenty five pages will be read, and continued each morning until finished.

Signed, Jno. P. Boyd,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Detachment Main Quarters,
Newport, August 19th 1811.

Detachment orders,

The melancholy effect of cold water in the sudden death of a good soldier yesterday will caution the drinking too much when over heated. It is recommended to drink moderately and to hold the water a few seconds in the mouth, which will in most cases prevent its fatal effect.

At the moment we are called on to place ourselves in the best attitude to serve our Country it is also the duty of the Officers commanding companies by being frequently with their men, to watch and direct their conduct at this time. Too much attention cannot be made to their mode of living; the rooms well aired, provisions regular and well cooked; unripe and pernicious fruit forbidden. To effect this it becomes necessary that two thirds of the officers be always present, and the Adjutant's presence is indispensable. Should he have occasion to be out of the Garrison, he will notify it, and request some officer to act for him while absent.

The men will not be allowed to bathe, excepting in the morning and evening and then by permission of their officers.

Signed, Jno. P. Boyd,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

D. M. Quarters, U. S. Garrison Newport,
August 20th 1811.

Sir,

In consequence of the following charges, viz. first, neglect of duty, conduct unbecoming an officer and a Gentleman, and general habit of drunkenness for two years past, which has been laid before me, you will consider yourself in arrest. Deliver your sword to the Adjutant and confine yourself to the limits of the Garrison.

Signed JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

D. Main Quarters, U. S. Garrison
Newport, Aug. 21st 1811.

Detachment order,

Conformably to the Instructions of His Excellency Governor Harrison the New England Detachment will embark and proceed to Vincennes. The Quarter Master will make the necessary arrangements for a sufficient supply of provisions, and every exertion of the officers is required to expedite the movement.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. C. D.

D. Main Quarters, U. S. Garrison, August 25th 1811.
Regimental order,

It is with extreme sensation of grief that I communicate to the Regiment the death of Captain William Welch.* The Regiment have lost a young and meritorious officer and the Officers a valuable friend.

The officers have evinced their esteem for him by their attention during his illness. He will be entered this afternoon. Capt. Barton will perform the escort duty. The officers are recommended to wear a crape on the left arm for thirty days.

Capt. Wentworth and Lieut. Gooding will immediately take charge of his effects.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

*Capt. William Welch (Welsh) was a native of Connecticut and was appointed 1st lieutenant in the 4th Infantry June 13, 1808. He was raised to the rank of captain June 9, 1810, and died Aug. 25, 1811. He was buried with military honors. *Walker's Journal of Two Campaigns, etc., page 10; Heitman's Hist. Reg., etc.*

D. M. Quarters, U. S. Garrison Newport,
August 27th 1811.

Detachment order,

It is expected that the required supply of ammunition and provision for the Detachment will be ready by Thursday morning next, when the troops will immediately embark and descend the river, the officers will be pleased to report the boats in readiness on Wednesday morning, when the order regulating the proceeding of the boats will be made known.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy., C. D.

D. M. Quarters,
U. S. Garrison Newport August 29th 1811.

Detachment order,

The Detachment will embark tomorrow to descend the river and will proceed in the following order.

Boat No.	1	Col. Boyd.
" "	2	Lt. Col. Miller and Capt. Wentworth.
" "	3	Capt. Snelling and Lieut. Bacon.
" "	4	" Cook and Hill.
" "	5	" Prescott and Way.
" "	6	" Brown and Eastman.
" "	7	" Barton and Larrabee.
" "	8	Lieut. Adams and Gooding.
" "	9	" Burton and Doctor Foster.
" "	10	Sick and Officer of Police.
" "	11	Lieut. Fuller Peters and Ensign Burchstead, with the ammunition.

D. M. Quarters, U. S. Garrison Newport
August 30th 1811.

Detachment order,

Lieut. Smith and Peckham together with one Sergeant and six Privates being in the opinion of the Surgeon unable to embark with the troops destined for Vincennes, will remain at the Garrison until in the opinion of the attending Physician of the same they are able to proceed on for the main body. Lieutenant Smith will take charge of the convalescent on their march to join.

Signed JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

D. M. Quarters, U. S. Garrison Newport,
August 31st 1811.

Detachment order,

The Detachment being ordered by his Excellency Governor Harrison to proceed to Vincennes the command of the Garrison devolves on Lieutenant Bryson who will take charge of the sick left, and accept the thanks of the commanding officer for the politeness and hospitality shewn the detachment while stationed here. It is expected the attending Physician will attend to the sick that is left.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Encampment 40 miles below Newport,
Kentucky, August 31 1811.

Detachment order,

The troops will reembark tomorrow morning at Reveille for which the General will beat. For the regulation and facility of the march the officers will pay particular attention to the Detachment order of August 3rd 1811, except that they will form agreeably to rank the hospital boat taking the center.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

September 6th 1811.

Detachment order,

Order of boats the same as yesterday and will keep about four Roods distance from each other with the exception of the Powder boat, which will be Ten Roods in rear of the whole; each boat will be governed by the boats immediately preceding it. All non commissioned officers and soldiers are forbid firing or charging a gun without the permission of the commanding officer of the boat, to which he belongs. And as we must proceed with all possible speed through the day, it is enjoined on the commanding officers of each boat not to suffer the small boats to leave the large ones unless in a case of emergency or absolute necessity. We move immediate after the communication of this order.

Signed, JAMES MILLER,
Lt. Col. 5th Regt. Infy Comdg.

D. Main Quarters, Mouth of the Wabash
River, September 10th 1811.

Detachment order,

The Detachment having arrived at the mouth of the Wabash River will at half past two o'clock embark to ascend the same as a precautionary measure the Quarter Master will issue four cartridges to each soldier bearing arms. The officers commanding boats will take charge of them. No soldier will be allowed to charge his gun, unless by order of the officer of the day.

Signed, JAMES MILLER Lt. Col.,
Comdg.

Head Quarters, Vincennes, Sept. 20th 1811.

It is the intention of the Commander in Chief to form the whole of the Troops into two lines, the first to be composed of all the U. S. Infantry, U. S. Riflemen and such of the Militia Corps as may be selected for the purpose. For the present Capt. Parke* troop of Light Dragoons, The Harrison Volunteers of Capt. Spencers and the small detachment of Kentucky Dragoons under Col. Davies are to report to and receive the orders of Col. Boyd. All the other Militia Corps including Capt. Funks† troop of Kentucky Dragoons are to be under the command of Col. Bartholemew. Report of all the several Corps are immediately to be made to the Adjutant Col. McFarland and Col. Boyd will please to make arrangements for withdrawing the Garrison of Fort Knox.

He will receive particular directions from the Governor with respect to the Command which is to be left there. The Col. will also cause the baggage of the regular troops to be assorted. That which will not be wanted for the expedition will be deposited in Fort Knox. Such as will be useful at the point of destination but not wanted on the march will be prepared for water conveyance. For the balance wagons will be furnished.

It is expected that all the arrangements in the Quarter Master's Department will be completed tomorrow morning.

Return for camp equipage and deficiencies in arms and accoutrements will be immediately made out and as far as possible supplied from the public stores. Returns for Twenty four rounds

*Benj. Parke. See note, page 109. Capt. Parke was promoted to major after the death of Major Daveiss.

†Capt. Peter Funk was born Aug. 14, 1782, at Funkstown, Maryland. He came to Kentucky in 1795 and lived many years in Jefferson County, about ten miles from Louisville. In 1862 he dictated a narrative of his experiences in the Battle of Tippecanoe, which is quoted in *Lossing's Field Book of the War of 1812*. He died April 9, 1864. *Filson Club, No. 15, Battle of Tippecanoe, by Pirtle.*

of ammunition for the musquetry and a half pound of Powder and one of Lead for the Riflemen per man will be immediately made.

Capt. Piatt will see that the issues are made and the balance of the ammunition properly packed for transportation.

As long as the troops remain in this town the Adjutant of the several Corps will attend at 12 o'clock each day at Col. McFarland's Quarters for orders.

The Commander in Chief requests Lt. Col. Miller and all the officers and soldiers of the 4th U. S. Regiment and the Rifle Company attached to it to accept his thanks for the exertions they have used in ascending the Wabash. It is certain that their arrival here has anticipated the expectation of all those who know the difficulties to be encountered in ascending the River in the present low state of the water. The conduct of the Troops on this occasion has been highly meritorious and is honorable to themselves and the school in which they have been trained. No Guard will be necessary as long as the troops remain in town but such as are necessary for the Police, of which the commanding officer of Corps will judge.

A Militia General Court Martial will sit tomorrow at Ten o'clock to consist of Thirteen members for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before it, Major Regin Redman* President, five Captains and seven Sub. will be detailed for the above duty.

The Quarter Master will procure small orderly books to be delivered to the companies immediately.

All the sick of the regular troops are to be sent to Fort Knox and to be placed under the command of Doctor Kuykendall.†

Doctor Foster surgeon of the 4th U. S. Regiment is to be considered senior surgeon of the Army. He will have the superintendence of all the stores and medicine and to him application will be made to the surgeons for those articles.

The Quarter Master will furnish any articles which Doctor Foster may think necessary, as well as the means of transportation.

By the Commander in Chief,

Signed, H. HURST, A. D. C.

*Regin Redman was a Kentuckian, appointed major of Indiana militia under Lieut. Col. Joseph Bartholomew. He was wounded at the Battle of Tippecanoe. *Filson Club*, No. 15.

†Dr. Jacob Kuykendall was born in Pennsylvania and enlisted from Indiana. He was appointed surgeon's mate July 9, 1810, but was negatived by the senate, March 4, 1811. *Heitman's Hist. Reg.*, etc.

U. S. Detachment Main Quarters,
Vincennes, Sept. 20th 1811.

Detachment order,

It is with unfeigned satisfaction that the Col. commanding again meets the detachment assumes the command Offers his best thanks to Lieut. Col. Miller and the officers of his late command, whose persevering exertions only meet difficulties to surmount them.

Every exertion will now be made to prepare for actual service. Major George R. C. Floyd† having reported himself for duty will be pleased to join his Regiment, where he will be obeyed and respected accordingly.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Reg. Infy. C. D.

U. S. Detachment Main Quarters,
Vincennes, Sept. 22nd 1811.

Detachment order,

Pursuant to the Commander in Chief's orders the officer commanding Fort Knox will hold the troops under his Command in readiness to join the camp at Vincennes tomorrow morning excepting one Sergeant and the sick of the Garrison.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Head Quarters,
Vincennes, 22nd Sept. 1811

The Commander in Chief has thought proper to make a different arrangement for the distribution and command of the Troops than that which has been given in the order heretofore issued, viz. The whole of the Infantry Regulars and Militia is to be considered as one Brigade to be under the command of Jno. P. Boyd as Brigadier General. Lieut. Col. Miller will command the first line composed of the whole of the United States

†Maj. George Rogers Clark Floyd was a native of Jefferson County, Ky. He was appointed captain of the 7th U. S. Infantry in 1808; promoted to major of the 4th Infantry in 1810; was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1812 and transferred to the 7th Infantry. He resigned in April, 1813, and returned to Louisville, Ky., studied law and died in 1821. *Filson Club, No. 15, page 47.*

troops, and Lieut. Colonel Bartholemew* of the 2nd line composed the whole of the Militia Infy. and these two officers will report to and receive their orders from Col. Boyd. The whole of the Cavalry will be under the command of Major Davies who will report to and receive his orders from the Commander in Chief. Captain Spencer's† Company of Volunteers will act as a detached Corps and he will receive his orders from the Commander in Chief. They are received as a Company of Volunteers.

The whole Army will parade tomorrow at one o'clock, the Infantry in two columns of files in single rank. The regular troops will form the leading battalion of each column, the Militia Infantry the rear. The columns will be at such distance from each other, that when the Battalions change their order to one at right angles to their order of march then flanks will meet, Major Davies‡ will place his largest troops of Dragoons in squadrons at open order one hundred and fifty yards in advance of the columns of Infantry, and at right angles to the order of march. The next largest troop will be placed in the same form and order at one hundred and fifty yards in the rear of the column; the third troop will be placed in single line on the right flank at one hundred and fifty yards from the line of Infantry and parallel thereto. Capt. Spencer's Company will be formed on the left flank in single rank and in a line parallel to the Infantry, at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the left column. The Army thus formed will commence its march, the column taking care to keep their distance and their heads dressed. When in the woods the movements will be regulated by signals from the Drum; the manoeuvring tomorrow being in open grounds the sight will be

*Lieut. Col. Joseph Bartholemew, in command of Indiana militia, was wounded at the Battle of Tippecanoe. He never joined the regular army.

†Capt. Spier Spencer was killed in action Nov. 7th, 1811. He commanded a company of mounted riflemen of Indiana militia in the battle. They were called "Spencer's Yellow Jackets" because of their uniforms. He was a man of importance in Harrison County and raised his company in or near Corydon. He came to that place in 1809 from Vincennes and upon the organization of the county was appointed sheriff. He had a brother who was killed in the same battle. Capt. Spencer's small son went on the expedition with him and was Harrison's special care after his father's death. Harrison secured an appointment for this son and another at West Point when they became of proper age. Spencer's wife was Elizabeth Polk, daughter of Charles Polk of Kentucky. When she was a child, she and her mother, Delilah Tyler, and other children of the family, were stolen by the Indians and taken from Kentucky to Detroit, where they were ransomed by Major DePeyster, upon learning that Charles Polk was a Mason. The family was reunited. *Filson Club, No. 15.*

‡Major Joseph H. Davies (Daveiss) was a distinguished lawyer and colonel of a company of Kentucky militia. In 1811, when he heard that Harrison was organizing an army of militia to march against the Indians, he wrote him an enthusiastic letter offering his services as a private and praising him for his conduct of Indian affairs. He joined him, accompanied by Messrs. Croghan, O'Fallen, Ship and Meade and a few others as volunteers. They not only distinguished themselves but several of them became officers in the War of 1812 and performed brilliantly. Col. Davies was given command of a squadron of dragoons with the rank of major. He was killed in action Nov. 7. *Historical Narrative of the Civil and Military Services of Maj. Gen. W. H. Harrison by Dawson, and Filson Club, No. 15.* Brice's *History of Fort Wayne*, page 197, says: "Joe Daveiss had a singular habit of traveling his circuit in the costume of a hunter, often entering the court room with his rifle in his hands." He was U. S. district attorney in the case against Aaron Burr and lost, Henry Clay being the attorney in defense.

sufficient to govern the movements. Upon the word being given to receive the enemy in two lines each battalion of which there are supposed to be four, two in each column, will swing round on its center in the manner directed by the general order of the 21st inst. The Dragoons in front are supposed to keep the enemy in check until the lines are formed when they will be recalled by a signal which for the present will be the retreat. The Dragoons and mounted Riflemen on the flanks and in the rear will continue their first position until ordered otherwise. If the second line should be ordered up to form on the flanks of the first line the commanding officer will order the line to break off from the right of Platoons. The right battalion marching obliquely to the right and the left to the left, and forming respectively upon the right and left of the front line at the same time the Dragoons and Mounted Riflemen on the flanks will incline to the right or left as the case may be to give room to the Infantry to form and will endeavour to turn the flank of the enemy. When the front troop of Dragoons is called it will pass in short column of files through the intervals of the front line and form a corps de *reserve* immediately in the rear of the front line and upon moving up of the second line of Infantry the rear troop of Dragoons will move up and join the advanced troop in rear of the first line. The lines of march will be formed again in the manner the Commander in Chief shall direct.

Doctor Blood* having been appointed a surgeon's mate, Doctor Foster will employ him in such a manner as will be most beneficial to the service.

Signed, H. HURST,† A. D. C.

Head Quarters, Vincennes, 22nd Sept. 1811.

After orders.

The Army being formed in the order of march prescribed by the General order of this day, if an attack should be made on the right flank, the whole will face to the right and it will then be in two lines parallel to the line of march, the right column forming

*Dr. Hosea Blood, a native of Kentucky, became hospital surgeon's mate July 6, 1812, and hospital surgeon May 5, 1813. He was honorably discharged June 15, 1815, reinstated May 5, 1816, and died Sept. 12, 1816. He was taken prisoner at the surrender of Detroit, Aug. 16, 1812. *Heitman*.

†Maj. Henry Hurst, born in Jefferson County (then Frederick), Va., in 1769, came to Kentucky when quite young and married Miss Sebastian, by whom he had a son, Benjamin. His second wife was Miss Stanhope of Virginia. They had two children, William Henry and Mary, who became Mrs. William Leviston. At the time of his second marriage he moved to Vincennes, Ind., and practiced law. He volunteered in 1811 and was made major of militia and aid of the staff of the governor. Later he served as clerk of the U. S. District Court and was a member of the legislature from Clark County. He died Jan. 1, 1855, aged 85 years. *Filson Club, No. 15*.

the front line and the left the rear. Should an attack be made on the left flank, the reverse of what is here directed will take place till the whole will face to the left, the left column acting as the front line, the right as the rear. If the attack is made on both flanks at the same time both columns face outward. To resist an attack in the rear the same manoeuvre is as directed for an attack in front, with this difference only, that the leading grand division of each battalion will form by the filing up of each man in succession and the second grand division by doubling round its front guide and displaying to the left. To resist an attack in the front and rear, the five leading battalions will perform the manoeuvre directed for the front attack and the five others that which has been last described. In all cases where there is an attack other than a front one the Dragoons and Riflemen will consider themselves as front rear or flank guards according to the situation they may be placed in relatively to the rear of the army and perform the duties which those situations respectively require as heretofore directed.

Signed, H. HURST, A. D. C.

Vincennes, September 23rd 1811.

Regimental order,

Major George R. C. Floyd will please to take possession of the Regimental Book, now in the hands of Captain P. Wentworth.*

The late Captain Welch's company will for the present be attached to the command of Capt. R. C. Barton but to be mustered as heretofore.

Signed, JAMES MILLER, Lt. Col.
Commanding.

Brigade M. Quarters.

Brigade orders,

By the General order of the 22nd inst. the Infantry and Mounted Riflemen are to compose one Brigade, and assigned to the command of Col. John P. Boyd of the 4th U. S. Regiment the Col. hereby assumes the command and directs that reports of every description be made to the Brigade Major Col. Clarke.†

*Capt. Paul Wentworth, of the 4th Infantry, resigned Oct. 29, 1811. He was a native of New Hampshire.

†Col. Marston G. Clark was major and aid-de-camp on Harrison's general staff. He was promoted to brigade inspector Sept. 20, 1811. He enlisted as a private in the Indiana Light Dragoons under Capt. Charles Beggs. *Filson Club, No. 15.*

The adjutant of each Corps will attend at the Brigade Majors Quarters at o'clock daily for orders.

Lieutenant Adams of the 4th U. S. Regt. is requested by the approbation of the Commander in Chief to assist Col. Boyd as aid de Camp. All orders therefore delivered through him will be respected accordingly.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. A. B. G.

Vincennes 25th September 1811.

Detachment order,

†Agreeable to the General order of yesterday the Troops under my command will be ready to march at 10 o'clock this morning the commanding officers of each company will cause to be delivered twenty four rounds fixed ammunition three flints and one priming wire to each man fit for duty. All servants liable to bear arms will be furnished and accoutred as other privates and will be on duty with their officers. The commanding officers of companies will be held responsible that the guns are put in the best possible order, for action and kept so. They will also cause a careful inspection of all the ammunition flints priming wires and breeches to be made every morning and if any waste is committed or any loss by unavoidable accident, it shall be their duty to report the same to the commanding officer of the Detachment. If waste be committed the offender will be immediately confined and punished according to the nature of his offence.

The Quarter Master will receive all the arms and accoutrements of the sick, box them and put them on board the Boat to ascend the river. They will be immediately collected and delivered by the officer commanding companies.

The officers of each company are allowed one wall tent, one common tent, is allowed to six non commissioned officers, musicians and privates, and one wall and one common tent will be furnished for the medical department.

Each non commissioned officer Musks and Privates will have two days provisions cooked and packed in their haversacks. Sergeant Wright and nine men will be detailed to take charge of the boat to ascend the river to the point of destination.

The Lt. Colonel commanding the Detachment has the fullest confidence in the officers and soldiers of his command and firmly

†"As fast as it could be done troops were sent up the Wabash about 65 miles to a point in the purchase of 1809 where the city of Terre Haute now stands, and there, Oct. 6th, Governor Harrison joined them." *Filson Club, No. 15, page 25.*

trusts that their conduct in the contemplative expedition will be honorable to themselves and to their country.

Signed, JAMES MILLER, Lt. Col.
C. D.

Head Quarters,
Bosserson Creek,* Sept. 27th 1811.

Parole Washington,
Countersign Hancock.

The detail for camp guard will be until further orders two captains guard consisting of one captain, two sergeants, two corporals and forty privates each. Two subaltern guards consisting of one subaltern, one sergeant one corporal and 21 privates each. One subaltern, one sergeant, one corporal and twelve privates for the guard of the Commander in Chief, one select corporal and three men for a contractor's guard, A field officer of the day. The Guards will be warned every morning at roll call and to mount immediately upon the halting of the army at night, Capt. Biggers,† Wilsons,‡ Heths,§ and Berrys|| companies are not to be included in the detail, they are however to be under the command of the officer of the day, and when within the line of sentinels are to form such a portion of the chain as the officer of the day may assign to them. When without the chain of sentinels they will furnish guards for their own security only when the troops fall into the line of March Upon the beating of the long Roll the Guards will be conducted into camp and will join their several companies a Sergeants guard of the regular troops only excepted which will be detached to form a baggage guard, and for the purpose of picking up stragglers. The order of march will be in Two lines as the army is now placed Capt. Biggers riflemen in front of the column, in line across the direction of the line of march at one hundred and fifty yards distance. Capt.

*Bosserson Creek, a small creek in Sullivan County, Ind., which flows into the Wabash River and probably took its name from the early traders of that name, John Baptist Bosserson, who traded in this region from 1760 to 1780, and Francois Bosserson, from 1775 to about 1790. *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 2, page 4.

†James Bigger was a captain of Indiana volunteer riflemen in the company of Lieut. Col. Luke Decker. He served in the War of 1812 as a captain of rangers. *Heitman's Hist. Reg. and Dict., etc.; Filson Club*, No. 15.

‡Walter Wilson was a captain of Indiana militia in the company of Luke Decker. In June, 1811, with others he was bearer of a speech to Tecumseh.

§Capt. Heth may have been Lieut. Lewis Hite, of a battalion of Kentucky volunteers. Tipton, in his journal of the Tippecanoe campaign, speaks of a Capt. Heath. *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 2, pages 170-184.

||Lieut. Thomas Berry was in the Indiana militia under Decker and was killed in the battle. He had a detachment of mounted riflemen. *Filson Club*, No. 15.

Parks troop 50 yards in the rear of this Company and drawn up in the same order, Capt. Wilsons riflemen in the same order and at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the rear of the column, Capt. Biggs troop in the same order at 100 yards from the rear of the column, Capt. Funks troop on the right flank at the distance of one hundred yards from the column and in a line parallel to it. Capt. Berrys and Heths companies will be for the present on the left flank at one hundred yards distance from the column. The spies and guides will be considerably advanced and will receive particular directions from the commander in chief. The order of encampment will depend on the nature of the Ground which is to be occupied, the Dragoon will encamp within the lines of Infantry in such order as may be assigned they will furnish a picquet to remain in or out of camp as the officer of the day may direct to consist of one subaltern one sergeant one corporal and twenty privates, one orderly drum will be detailed for the Deputy Adjutant General, and one orderly sergeant for the Commander in Chief. All signals will be given from the quarters of the deputy Adjutant General excepting those which relate to the signals of the several Corps, the taps will be beaten ten minutes before the Drummers call which precedes the reveille and tattoo and these will succeed the drummers call five minutes. At the Taps which precedes the Reveille the whole army will rise, the Dragoons will saddle and prepare to mount, at the beating of the reveille the whole army will parade in the order of their encampment and continue under arms until they are dismissed. Col. Boyd will please to direct that on the line of march the music to be equally divided between the heads of the two columns.

By the Commander in Chief,

Signed, W.M. McFARLAND, Adj. Genl. of the Army.

Head Quarters,

Tiermans,* Sept. 29th 1811.

Regimental order,

Capt. W. C. Baen† having reported himself will join his company, and Lieutenant Burton will join his own company until further orders.

Signed, JAMES MILLER, Lt. Col. of the 5th Reg.

Commanding.

*Tierman's, evidently the same as Turman's. Benjamin Turman and his family were the first settlers in the district (1806) and a small creek in Sullivan County, Ind., flowing into the Wabash, bears the name. The creek drains Turman Township.

†Capt. William C. Baen was born in New Hampshire and enlisted from Rhode Island. He was made captain in the 4th Infantry, May 3, 1808, and died Nov. 9, 1811, of wounds received in the Battle of Tippecanoe. *Heitman's Hist. Reg. and Dict.*, etc.

Head Quarters,

Battelle des Illinois,† 4th Oct. 1811.

A command to consist of one subaltern one sergeant, one corporal and 20 privates from the regular troops and 1 subaltern 2 sergeants 2 corporals and thirty privates from Capt. Spencers company of rifle is to parade this evening at 2 o'clock these troops are to take with them their blankets and to draw five days provisions exclusive of this day, the two subalterns will apply at Head Quarters for orders.

By the Commander in Chief,

Signed, H. HURST A. D. C.

Camp, Battle des Illinois, Oct. 16th 1811.

Regimental order,

The officers commanding the different companies will be very particular in the execution of the General order of this day relative to the inspection of the arms, etc., as quick as possible it is to be understood that the examination of the arms and ammunition is to be thus particularly attended to every day, by the officer commanding the different companies and to make their report to the Commanding officer of the Regiment daily.

Signed, G. R. C. FLOYD Major
4th Infantry.

Camp Battle des Illinois,

October 25th 1811.

Brigade order,

Pursuant to the General order of yesterday the Brigade will commence their march on 27th inst. The moment not being distant when they will be called to actual duty enforces it on the commander of Corps to see their arms and ammunition in perfect order and for that purpose a daily inspection will be made and all deficiencies immediately replaced.

In the event of meeting the enemy the Brigade will be ordered to make a vigorous and successful charge, the enemy will retreat in confusion, the horse will pursue and complete the victory.

Officers and soldiers will remember what their country expects from them and what a determined body are capable of perform-

†"Bataille des Illinois" was a name given by the French to this spot, which was famous in Indian tradition as the scene of a desperate battle between the Illinois and Iroquois. *Lossing's Field Book, War of 1812, page 195.*

ing against an inferior number of Indians. Soldiers must be obedient to their officers prompt and resolute in execution of their duty. Lieutenant Colonel Miller's* ill health deprives him the honor of leading the Regulars that duty devolves on Major Floyd, and by the direction of the Commander in Chief Capt. Baen will perform the duty of Major. He will be mounted and lead the left wing of the regulars.

Signed, Jno. P. Boyd,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. A. B. G.

Encampment at Prairie Grove, Nov. 3rd 1811.†

Brigade orders,

With the approbation of His Excellency the Commander in Chief, George Croughan Esq.‡ is appointed volunteer aid de Camp to the acting Brigadier General. All orders therefore delivered through him will be obeyed and respected according.

Signed, Jno. P. Boyd,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Brigade Main Quarters,
Vincennes Nov. 18th, 1811.

Brigade orders,

The General order of this day dissolves the Brigade which I have had the honor to command.

In taking leave of many of my comrades in arms I cannot more strongly evince my exalted opinion of the troops composing the Brigade than by exhorting them when their country calls for their aid to make it their determination to preserve unblemished the reputation acquired on the morning of the 7th when they gallantly defeated the combination of Indians. Sacred be the memory of our gallant brothers who gloriously sacrificed their lives for their country on that day.

*Lieut. Miller was too sick to march when the troops left Fort Harrison and was left in command of the fort with a garrison of invalids.

†For an account of the battle see Isaac Naylor's account in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 2, pages 163-169; *Readings in Indiana History*, 1914, pages 119-123; *A Journal of Two Campaigns of the 4th Regiment of U. S. Infantry in Michigan and Indiana Territories*, by Adam Walker, Keene, N. H., 1816, which contains the statements of Sergeant Orr and William Brigham.

‡George Croughan became captain in the 17th Infantry, March 12, 1812, and distinguished himself under Harrison at Fort Meigs. He conducted the memorable defeat of Fort Stephenson at Lower Sandusky against Gen. Proctor, Aug. 1 and 2, 1813.

Brigade Major Clarke will be pleased to accept of my thanks for his indefatigable zeal in performing the duties assigned him. Capt. Creaghan (aid de camp to the acting Brigadier) firmness on the morning of battle and attention to duty merits and receives my warmest thanks.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. A. B. G.

Head Quarters, Vincennes, Nov. 23rd 1811.

Regimental order,

The Campaign having closed and the troops taken winter quarters, the following arrangement of officers will take place.

Lieutenant Burton will take charge of the late Capt. Welch's company. Lieutenant Fuller, Capt. Wentworth and Lieutenant Larrabee the late Baens. Lt. Peckham will join his own company and Lt. Way will do duty in Capt. Barton's company. Lt. Smith will take charge of the boat to ascend the Wabash with clothing, report himself to Captain Snelling and join his company. Ephraim D. Dackham and John Silver of Captain Prescott's company from the recommendation of their Captain are promoted to the rank of Corporals from the 1st October 1811.

Samuel Fowler of the same company for his good conduct while at Fort Harrison and the recommendation of Lieut. Col. Miller, is promoted to the rank of a corporal from 1st November 1811. Major Mantor of the late Welch's Company for his soldier-like conduct is reinstated as a sergeant to rank from 1st October 1811. William Turner of Captain Barton's company for his good conduct in the late action with the Indians and reinstated as a corporal to rank from 1st October 1811.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

Regimental Head Quarters, Vincennes,
Nov. 20th 1811.

Regimental order,

Fourth Regiment (in which I desire to include the 25 Riflemen attached to the Regiment and the 16 men of Capt. Poseys* Company) you have closed a campaign brilliant in success and highly advantageous to your country, in which you are no less distin-

*John Posey was captain of Indiana militia.

*Gen. W. Johnston. See note, page 46.

guished for the intrepid bravery of the Privates than for the gallant spirit and proud honour of the officers. The Glories you have gained on the morning of the 7th inst., when your camp was surprised shall be recorded in times eternal tablet, and no suspension of praise shall silence your just merits my Brothers. Your conduct on that day can never be effaced from my gratitude, your contempt of danger and determined courage saved the camp and to you the candid militia ascribe the glorious victory obtained. It shall be my duty to make your merits known to the honorable Secretary.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.

U. S. Detachment Main Quarters,
Vincennes, Nov. 29th 1811.

Detachment order,

The campaign having closed every exertion of the Quarter Master is required to procure and arrange comfortable quarters for the Troops, who are immediately to put their arms and accoutrements in the best possible order.

The Detachment Garrison order of the 27th June will be considered in force except that part which alludes to drills.

The orderly Sergeants will make their reports at the adjutants quarters, at 12 o'clock each day. The senior officer at the Barracks at Fort Knox will make a General report daily of the Troops quartered there.

Officers commanding companies will agreeable to the General order of yesterday deliver to the surgeon of the 4th Regiment the medicines hospital stores Furniture and bedding which has been sent on to them, for which they will take his receipt. He will also account to the several officers from whom he has taken clothing. His report of the sick and wounded Regulars is expected on Sundays and Wednesdays at Detachment Main Quarters.

Per order J. L. EASTMAN
A. Adjutant

4th U. S. Regt. Infy.

Detachment Main Quarters,
Vincennes, Dec. 6th 1811.

Detachment order,

The col. views the cutting off the pantaloons of the soldiers presumptuous and contrary to the intentions of the Government, he therefore positively forbids it. The Regimental orders of June

and October 1810 relative to clothing is considered in force, and there will be a rigid inspection of arms and accoutrements on Sunday next, when it is expected they will be in the best possible order.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy.
C. D.

Detachment Main Quarters,
Vincennes, Dec. 6th 1811.

Detachment order,

Frequent complaints have been made about the sutling at the cantonment Fort Knox. The Colonel forbids any person sutling for the troops of that cantonment but those mentioned in the order of the 22nd November 1811, and they will regulate their prices by the retailers at Vincennes.

Till further arrangements are made for quarters, the regular sutlers will occupy the room now occupied by the contractor as a counting room, but one room can be allowed for the contractor. All articles deposited by the Quarter Master will not be used but by order of the officers commanding the Detachment.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy.
C. D.

Head Quarters, Vincennes, 20th December 1811.
General orders,

The Governor of the Indiana Territory having been directed by the President of the United States to take command of the Troops destined for an expedition upon the Wabash of which the 4th U. S. Regiment formed a part, thought proper from the events that had happened and from the General aspect of Indian affairs to retain the Command after the Troops had returned, and the Militia been dismissed; circumstances have however determined him to relinquish it and the U. S. Troops in the Territory are released from all obligation to receive orders from him; this order embraces Capt. Snelling the Commandant of Fort Harrison, so far at least as the Connection with the Indians is not concerned this Department being entirely under the control of the Governor the Capt. will still continue to communicate to him alone upon that subject. It is however to be considered as a

voluntary duty but from the known patriotism of the Capt. the Governor has no doubt of his performing it with cheerfulness, until another arrangement can be made.

It is almost superfluous for the Governor on this occasion to express his sense of the merit of the Troops the command of which he has now thought proper to decline; this has been done in a way to do them more honour than they could possibly derive from an order of his, the circulation of which would not extend beyond the limits of their quarters; he cannot however forbear to declare, that although the official tie which has for some time connected him with those gallant troops is now dissolved, he will ever retain for them a sincerely affectionate regard and that however distantly separated from him they may be, to whatever part of the world they may be sent to fight the battles of their country, their honor and glory will be always dear to them.

Doctor Scull, Blood and Cummings employed by the Governor as Surgeons mates will report themselves to Col. Boyd, to remain in the service if he should think proper.

A true Copy.

Signed, NATHL. J. ADAMS,
Adjt. of the Army.

U. S. Detachment Main Quarters,
Vincennes, January 21 1812.

Detachment orders,

In taking leave of this command which I am authorized to do by the Honorable Secretary of War permission of the 12th ult., and to which my private concerns in New England compel me I cannot suppress the regret I feel in separating myself for a time from a Corps eminently distinguished for bravery in the field, for the proud honor of its officers and its perfected state of discipline.

Whenever it appeared consonant with the principles of duty, it has ever been my aim to make accommodation a pleasing part in the regulation of my conduct and to give satisfaction to those who I have had the honor of commanding with a faithful and independent discharge of my duties has been a prominent and anxious wish.

I cannot now take leave of the Regiment and rifle company whose happiness is indivisibly blended with my own without reminding them in the strongest terms of the necessity of rigidly persevering in the cultivation of harmony the slightest relapse from which growing out of trifling differences between members of the same Corps, indulged, producing party rancour, and discord too often becomes epidemic and diseases the whole, let me recommend that Esprit de Corps which makes a whole body

tenacious of its reputation and solicitous to preserve it unsullied from the Colonel down to the Private.

The command of the United States troops in this Territory devolves on Lieut. Col. James Miller of the 5th Regiment Infantry who will be pleased on assuming the same to report to the War Department.

The support and zealous cooperation of Lieut. Col. Miller while Major in bringing the 4th Regiment to its present state of discipline has merited and commands applause and it would be an omission of Justice not to place this testimony on record.

JNO. P. BOYD,
Col. 4th Regt. Infy.

Vincennes, January 24, 1812.

Detachment order,

In obedience to Colonel Boyd's order of the 23rd inst., Lt. Col. Miller assumes the command of the U. S. Troops in the Indiana Territory, and directs the orders now in force to be strictly adhered to until further orders.

Signed JAMES MILLER,
Lt. Col. 5th Regt. Infy.

Copy attested by
Adjutant Eastman.

Indiana Resolves.

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory that the thanks of this House be given to Colonel John P. Boyd the second in command to the officers non commissioned officers and private soldiers composing the 4th United States Regiment of Infantry together with the other United States Troops under his command for the distinguished regularity, discipline, coolness and undaunted valour so eminently displayed by them in the late brilliant and glorious battle fought with the Shawanoe Prophet and his confederates, on the morning of the 7th November 1811, by the Army under the command of Governor Harrison.

Resolved that the said Col. Boyd be requested to communicate the foregoing to the officers and privates belonging to the said 4th Regiment and that a copy of these resolutions signed by the Speaker of this House be presented to the said Col. Boyd by a Committee of the House.

Signed, G. W. JOHNSTON Speaker of
the House of Representatives.

Nov. 1811.

To the Honorable the House of Representatives
of the Indiana Territory.

Gentlemen:

I have the honor for myself the Officers and Soldiers composing the Fourth Regiment U. S. Infantry, the rifle company attached and the small detachment of Posey's Company to return you our thanks for the distinguished notice you have been pleased to take of our conduct in the battle with the Shawanoe Prophet and his confederates on the morning of the 7th Nov. 1811 by your resolutions of this day. If our efforts in the discharge of our duties shall have resulted in advancing the public good, we are gratified and do believe that we have merited this tribute of applause from the assembled representatives of this very respectable portion of our country renders it peculiarly flattering to our honor and our pride.

With much consideration and respect

In behalf of the Officers and Soldiers of the U. S. Troops

Gentlemen,

I have the honor to be

Your Obedient Servant,

Detachment H. Qrs.
Vincennes, Nov. 1811.

JNO. P. BOYD.

At a meeting of the citizens of Vincennes and its vicinity the following address was unanimously agreed to and ordered to be presented to Colonel Boyd and that Henry Vanderburgh Esq.,* Chairman of the Meeting and John Baddolet Esq.† be a committee to present the same.

HENRY VANDERBURGH Chairman

JOHN JOHNSON‡ Clk.

Vincennes Nov. 25 1811.

*Henry Vanderburg, born in Troy, N. Y., 1760, had risen to the position of captain in the 2nd New York Continental Line during the Revolution and soon after settled at Vincennes. He was married in February, 1790, to Miss Frances Cornoyer, of that post. In 1791 he was appointed justice of the peace and judge of the Probate Court of Knox County. He was selected as one of the five members of the first legislative council of the Northwest Territory and chosen by his colleagues president. When Indiana Territory was created he was one of the first judges and occupied that position until his death, April 12, 1812. *History of Evansville and Vanderburg County, Ind., by Elliott, page 66.*

†John Badollet was born in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1758, the son of a Lutheran minister. He came to America in 1776 with Albert Gallatin and first settled in Pennsylvania. He was the first registrar in the U. S. land office in Vincennes and lived there until his death. He held the office until 1836, when he was succeeded by his son Albert. He held many public offices in Indiana and died July 29, 1837. *History of the City of Vincennes, Ind., by Henry S. Cauthorn, page 184.*

‡John Johnson was a Virginian who settled at Vincennes at the time of the organization of Indiana Territory and soon ranked as one of the ablest lawyers in the territory. He took an active part in local politics and was a consistent pro-slavery man. *Dunn's Indiana, A Redemption from Slavery, page 327.*

Colonel Jno. P. Boyd,
4th Reg. U. S. Inf.

Sir,

Permit us to convey to you and through you to the Officers and men of the Regiment you command, the exalted sense we entertain of the masterly and spirited conduct which you have displayed in the engagement with the Indians at Tippicanoe and to express the gratitude which fills our hearts for so many lives which your gallant exertions have contributed to preserve. Your near departure from this country prevent a more general and public manifestation of these sentiments, which are not peculiar to ourselves; we find them universally entertained, and those brave regular's expressions repeated with enthusiasm by that spirited but untutored Militia who witnessed and emulated your cool intrepidity, evince at once the importance of the service you have rendered and the warmth of their gratitude.

In endeavouring thus to portray our feelings on the present occasion, we present you the only reward it is in our power to bestow, the homage of thankfulness and truth, not the less gratifying to noble minds for being spontaneous and artless.

A great good Sir will follow from your example, our fellow citizens will be convinced that valour without science cannot however duly exerted, lead to certain success and may eventually cause an useless effusion of blood, that an armed force without military knowledge is little better than an inefficient multitude, and they will learn to submit with cheerfulness to that discipline and subordination which alone can render its efforts consentaneous and irresistible.

In addressing you thus Sir, we are satisfied that we are discharging a duty of sacred justice and will reluctantly take leave of you with prayers to the Author of all good, that he may long preserve you and your gallant companions in arms for the honor and defence of our common country.

HENRY VANDERBURGH, Chairman.

JNO. JOHNSON,
• Secretary.

To Henry Vanderburgh Esq., Chairman, and the other Gentlemen, Citizens of Vincennes and vicinity:

Gentlemen,

We are honored by your notice of this day which conveys to us the officers and privates of the 4th Regt. your high approbation of our conduct in the action of the 7th Ins. With dignified pride we acknowledge this meed of merit. It is the soldiers boon,

and if we have deserved of our country we are gratified by your public approbation of our exertions which are ever ready to meet the commands of our country.

With much consideration and respect
 in the name of the Reg., I have the honor
 to be Gentlemen Your Obedient Servant,
 JNO. P. BOYD Col. 4th Reg. U. S. I.

Fourth Reg. U. S. Infy.,
 Cantonments Vincennes, Jan. 20, 1812.

Having since the formation of our Corps been placed under the command of Colonel John P. Boyd, and witnessed the ardent solicitude evinced by him for our respective interest and honor as blended with the honor and reputation of the 4th U. S. Reg. of Infantry. We should justly be considered as destitute of every military principle both of propriety and duty, as well as of manly feelings, were we to omit to make this public avowal of the detestation, with which we view the various publications that have been made in the newspaper of *this place*, called the *Western Sun*,* evidently intended to cause dissensions in the Corps. The abusive and vulgar piece contained in the Newspaper of Saturday last, together with others we have before observed having the same object, have excited our indignation, and we declare that we view them as scurrilous attempts to degrade and lessen the consequence of our commanding officer, and to deprive him of the respect due his character as a soldier and a gentleman.

GEO. W. PRESCOTT, Sen. Capt. 4th Reg.
 R. C. BARTON, Capt. 4th Reg.
 O. G. BURTON, Lt. 4th Reg.
 C. LARRABEE, Lt. 4th
 E. WAY Lt. 4
 J. L. EASTMAN, Lt. & Adj. 4 Reg.
 BENJ. HILL, Lt. 4 Reg.
 GEO. P. PETERS, Lt. 4 Reg.
 LEWIS PECKHAM, Lt. 4.
 JOSIAH BACON, Lt. & Qr. M. 4.
 GEORGE GOODING, Lt. 4 Reg.
 H. BURCHSTEAD, Ens. 2 Reg.

N. B.

Lt. Colonel Pike and Major Floyd not with the Regiment.

*The *Western Sun*. In 1803 Elihu Stout, a citizen of Kentucky, emigrated to Indiana Territory and on July 4, 1804, commenced the publication of a paper at Vincennes which was called the "*Indiana Gazette*." This was published for almost a year and a half, when all the materials were destroyed by fire and the paper stopped until new supplies could be procured. The paper was again printed, but under the new title "*Western Sun*." It was regularly published by Mr. Stout until November, 1845, when he sold out. It continued to run for several years. *Law's History of Vincennes, etc.*, page 137.

Address of the Officers of the 4th Regiment
to their Colonel.

Vincennes, Jan. 23rd 1812.

In parting with you Sir, after being united in duty or command for upwards of three years we feel a pleasure in offering this tribute of our confidence and respect, created by the discharge of your obligation in the capacity of our commanding officer, but increased by your cool conduct and animating council which most of us witnessed in the action of the 7th November wherein you was second in command and which was calculated to stimulate every man whose bosom was susceptible of zeal and courage. On this occasion we cannot refrain to express the high sense we entertain of the sentiments conveyed in your order announcing to the Regiment your intended departure for New England particularly the injunction to cultivate those principles of unanimity and accordance amongst ourselves—which is so entirely essential to the creation and support of that “Esprit de Corps” in destitution of which respectability and preeminence, as a military body, is sought for in vain. In a situation and under circumstances so peculiar as the present we conceive it as a duty we owe to you and ourselves to declare that while we consider subordination as the only basis of discipline harmony and order, every attempt to alienate us from our commanding officer, and to disunite the officers of our Corps and ever will be received by us with pointed indignation.

We could not have been insensible to the efforts of Parties to interest us in differences which existed before our arrival at this place and with which duty and propriety forbid our interference. On the contrary as we know nothing of their merits so we disclaim all participation in their concerns, satisfied that our professional duties should engage our time and attention, considering our services devoted to our country alone.

We now Sir, after the assurance of our confidence and esteem take leave of you, with the most cordial wishes for your prosperity and happiness.

GEO. W. PRESCOTT, Sen. Capt. 4 Regt. U. S. Inf.

A. C. BARTON, Capt. 4th Reg.

JOSIAH BACON, Lt. & Qr. Mr. 4th

E. WAY, Lt. 4 Regt.

J. L. EASTMAN, Lt. & Adj.

BENJ. HILL, Lt. 4th Reg.

GEO. P. PETERS, Lt. 4th Reg.

LEWIS PECKHAM, Lt. 4th Reg.

Lt. Col. Pike & Maj. Floyd of the 4th Reg. not present.

To Colonel Jno. P. Boyd, 4th U. S. Inf.
Vincennes.

Fourth Regiment Head Quarters,
Vincennes Jan. 1812.

Captain Prescott & Other
Officers of the 4th Reg. U. S. Inf. at Vincennes.

Gentlemen,

I am honored by your polite letter of this date, expressive of your approbation,—believing as I do in the purity of your esteem, and honorable independence, I acknowledge with proud satisfaction this flattering testimony of my brother officers,—and altho in separating from them for a time I am gratified in the desire of being at the seat of government, yet my regret is lively and sincere in taking leave of those whose happiness is indivisible with my own.

My unlimited estimation of you as soldiers has been justified by your undaunted conduct in the field. Your spirited and zealous exertions evinced on all occasions for the honor of your country and the good of the service, your tenacious respect for your Regt., and commendable jealousy at the interference of others,—Your private manners has been marked with the distinguished emulation which is the characteristic of our profession, and impresses on one the laudible ambition of being esteemed the elder brother of the Fourth Regiment. I have the honor to be

Gentlemen, Your friend,
JNO. P. BOYD.

From Vincennes to the Prophets town
Extract from the Orderly Book, Vincennes,
December 1811.

The Army moved from Vincennes the 26th September and on the 30th encamped at ——*

1st October, Encamped at Battle des Illinois (now Fort Harrison)

29th Oct. Moved from Fort Harrison for the Prophets town that evening encamped 6 miles from thence.

30th. encamped about twenty miles.

31. Crossed the Wabash and encamped.

Nov. 1. Marched about ten miles (10 miles) encamped and on the 2nd built a Block House.†

*Probably at Turman's.

†This block house was built for the sick, who were left there with a guard under command of Sergeant Reed. Tipton says the house was 25 feet square and had a breastwork from each corner next the river down to the water. It was built on the Wabash, three miles below Vermilion in a small prairie. *Walker's Journal of Two Campaigns, etc.*; Tipton's Journal in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 2, pages 170-184.

3rd. Marched and encamped on an Island of high ground in the S. W. Part of the big Prairie.

4. Crossed Pine creek and encamped on the opposite bank.

5th. Marched within about 12 miles of the Prophets town.

6th. Marched and when within about three miles of the Prophets town divested the troops of their knapsacks and moved on expected battle—approached near the town when two Chiefs came out, halted for $\frac{1}{4}$ hour. The Gov. proposed to encamp but was advised to move and immediately attack the enemy. Three cheers were given and the army advanced and encompassed three parts of the town, the Indians indicating by gestures and yells their determination to fight. Two Chiefs again came out which unfortunately occasioned a parley and the troops received orders to incline half a mile to the left and encamp. The Commander in Chief refused to take hostages, altho advised so to do by the second in command.

7th. Two hours before day our Camp was attacked by the united force of the Shawanoe Prophet, who were repulsed with much slaughter.

8th. Destroyed the Town of Tippecanoe and large quantities of grain.

9th. Commenced a return, marched about 8 miles, conveying our numerous wounded in wagons.

10th. Encamped about 5 miles above Pine Creek.

11th. Encamped on the old encampment in the big Prairie.

12th. Arrived at the Block House.

13th. Put the most severely wounded on board boats and recrossed the Wabash at the former place and encamped on the opposite bank.

14th. Made a long march and encamped within about three miles of Fort Harrison.

15th. After halting a few hours at Fort Harrison moved about 8 miles below and encamped.

16th. Moved about miles.

17th. After a march of miles, encamped at Bosseron.

18th. Arrived at Vincennes. The regular troops were placed at Fort Knox. A few days after some companies were cantoned at Vincennes where the general Hospital had been established.

SOLDIERS AT DETROIT FROM 1797-1802.

Gleaned from original sources in Burton Historical Collection: Ledger 198, containing lists of members of the companies; Ledger 228, containing personal accounts of Officers and Soldiers; Ledger 282, a Regiment Pay Book.

United States Army Officers at Detroit and Vicinity,

1797-1802.

Col. David Strong†.....	1797-1800
Col. J. F. Hamtramck†.....	1801-1802
Died at Detroit 1803.	
Col. Thomas Forster.....	1801-1802
Major Buell	1797-1798
Major Thomas Hunt.....	1797-1802
At Michilimackinac in 1802.	
Major Thomas Martin.....	1801-1802

CAPTAINS

Richard H. Greaton.....	1797
Benjamin Lockwood	
At Michilimackinac in 1802.	
Cornelius Lyman	1797-1798
Andrew McClary	1797-1800
William Mills	1799-1800
Jonathan Nelson	1797-1799
Thomas Pasteur	1800-1801
Nicholas Rosencrantz§	1801-1802
Theodore Sedgwick	1797-1800
Alexander Thompson	1801-1802
Samuel Vance	1799
John Whistler	1799-1802

LIEUTENANTS

Robert G. Barde.....	1801-1802
William Carson	1802
At Michilimackinac in 1802.	
Eli B. Clemson (Climson).....	1800
Cocks	1802
Archibald Gray	1797-1800
Jesse Lukens	1798-1800
Martin	1798
Ebenezer Massy	1797-1798
John Michael	1797-1800
Joseph Miller	1802
Owen	1802

†See note, page 41.

‡See note, page 58.

§Capt. Nicholas Rosencrantz, born in Germany, enlisted from Pennsylvania. Was an ensign in the 1st Sublegion, May 12, 1794; in the 1st Infantry, Nov. 1, 1796; Lieutenant May 15, 1797; captain Nov. 1, 1799; honorably discharged June 1, 1802. *Heitman's Historical Register and Dictionary of the Army, 1789-1903.*

Ninian Pinkney	1802
Benjamin Rand	1797-1800
James Richmond	1797-1798
Joshua S. Rogers	1800
Peter Shiras	1799
Smith	1797
Horatio Stark	1802
2nd Lieut. of 1st Infantry at Michilimackinac.	
James Sterrett	1798
Of 1st Artillerists and Engineers.	
Peter Tallman	1797-1798
Afterwards Captain.	
Daniel Thompson	1797
Benjamin Wallace	1802
William Whistler	1802
John Wilson	1799-1800

ENSIGN

Callender	1797-1802
Joseph Dorr	1802
Glen	1797-1798
Peter Schuyler	1797-1800
Thompson	1797
John Whipple	1797-1800

ASSISTANT QUARTER MASTER

Elias Wallen	1797-1800
John McDonald	1797-1800
Commissary at Mackinac.	

Second United States Infantry.

STAFF OF THE 2ND REGIMENT 1798-1799.

John Green.....	Fife Major
Zenas Ames.....	Quarter Master Sergeant
David C. Evans.....	Sergeant Major
William Eaton.....	Sergeant Major
Joseph Holly.....	Private

CAPT. SEDGWICK'S* COMPANY.

SERGEANTS

Samuel Church	1797-1798
William Lewis	1797-1798
Thomas Maroney (Merony, Moroney).....	1798-1800
Patrick Preston	1797-1800
William Wilson	1798-1800

*Theodore Sedgwick, Massachusetts; ensign 2nd Infantry, March 4, 1791; lieutenant July 30, 1792; 2nd Sublegion, Sept. 4, 1792; captain Dec. 29, 1793; 2nd Infantry, Nov. 1, 1796; honorably discharged June 1, 1802. *Heitman's Register*.

CORPORALS

Robert Gibson	1797-1798
Maurice Healy (Haley)	1798-1800
Abraham Riblet	1797-1800
Silas Perry	1798
Felta Shockey	1797-1800

DRUMMERS

John Miller	1797-1798
William Price	1798-1800
Deserted and not paid, Feb. 1800.	

PRIVATES

Stephen Barton	1798	David Jones	1797-1800
James Bittle (Bettle)	1797-1800	Nicholas Kelly	1798
Hugh Brady	1797-1800	James McConnell	1797-1800
George Bridgham (Col.* Strong)	1798-1800	Michel McDonnell (Donald)	1797-1798
Joshua Brown	1797-1800	Charles Murphy	1797-1798
Jacob Casterline	1797-1800	Jn. Musherush	1797-1798
James Cassidy	1798	Michael O'Loughlin	1797-1798
Patrick Collens	1797-1800	Elias Perin (Prin)	1798-1799
Thomas Conley	1797-1798	David Peterson	1797-1798
John Conner	1798-1800	Leonard Price	1797-1800
Joseph Cross	1797-1800	Edward Reed	1797-1800
Ezra Dawson	1797-1800	George Rich	1798-1799
William Dickison	1798	Jacob Rosencrantz	1798-1800
Thomas Everidge	1797-1798	David Snow	1797-1800
William Ferman (Firman)	1797-1798	Benjamin Underwood	1798
John Fleck	1797-1800	Moses Vance	1797-1800
Thomas Forrest	1797-1798	Leonard Vermillion	1797-1800
Benjamin Griffeth (Griffis)	1797-1800	Abram Van Voorhies	1798-1800
Thomas Harvey	1798	William Watt	
Jacob Haynes	1798-1800	William Wiggins	1797-1800
Joseph Humphrys	1797-1798	John Wenner (Winner)	1798

CAPT. McCLARY'S* COMPANY.

SERGEANTS

Caleb Coupland (Cowpland)	1797-1800
William Coyle	1798-1800
Samuel Davidson	1798
Robert Gray	1797-1800
Joseph Harrison	1797-1800
James Nappier	1798-1800

CORPORALS

Silas Burbank	1797-1798
Samuel Buskirk	1797-1798
Mark Chase	1797-1800
Isaacher Hibbs	1797-1800
Thomas Reed	1797-1800
Adam Stear (Steer)	1798-1800

*Andrew McClary, born in New Hampshire, enlisted in that state; ensign 2nd Infantry, April 11, 1792; 2nd Sublegion, Sept. 4, 1792; lieutenant Feb. 21, 1793; 2nd Infantry, Nov. 1, 1796; captain Jan. 19, 1797; honorably discharged June 1, 1802; captain 21st Infantry, March 12, 1812; resigned Dec. 15, 1812. *Heitman's Register*.

FIFER

William Henderson1797-1800

DRUMMERS

John M. Jones.....1798-1800
John Morrison1797-1798

PRIVATEES

William Allen.....1797-1798	Joseph Cooney.....1798
Josiah Austin.....1797-1798	Thomas Delany.....1797-1800
Ephream Barker.....1798-1800	Patrick Domican.....1797-1798
Michael Barrier.....1798	Dennis Doughty.....1798-1799
John Brown.....1797-1798	Michael Dougherty.....1798-1800
Patrick Bulger.....1797-1798	William Easterby.....1798-1800
David Fitzgerald.....1798	William Perkins.....1797-1800
Thomas Fuller.....1797-1800	Josiah Pinkerton.....1797-1798
Elijah Gafford.....1798-1800	Joseph Pinkerton.....1798-1800
Francis Gowen.....1797-1800	John Pondeford.....1798-1800
Jacob Guile (Gile).....1798-1800	John Presho.....1798-1800
David Haynes.....1797-1800	William Price.....1798
Joseph Humphries.....1798-1800	William Reed.....1797-1800
John Johens.....1798	George Robinson
Ashal (Asel) Kinney...1797-1798	(Robison)1797-1800
William Ledger	John Ryan.....1797-1800
(Ladger, Leger).....1798-1800	John Slagel (Sleagle)...1797-1800
Walter Little (Litle)...1797-1800	John Snyder (Snider)...1798-1800
James Loyd.....1797-1800	Robert Thistlethwaite..1797-1798
John McBride.....1798-1800	John Thompson.....1797-1800
John McLane (Lean)..1797-1800	Frederick Tippet.....1798
William McNabb.....1798	William Vicker.....1797-1800
John Maka (Maha).....1798-1800	Nicholas Wilker.....1797-1800
Anthony Palmer.....1797-1800	George Wood.....1797-1798

CAPT. LYMAN'S* COMPANY.

Ens. J. Whipple†.....1798

SERGEANTS

Daniel Cook1798
James Davidson (Davison).....1797-1798
John Miller1797-1798
Timothy Root1797-1798

CORPORALS

Ichabod Cook1798
John Dewit1797-1798
John or Joseph Murphy.....1797-1798

DRUMMERS

John Morrison1798
John Scott1797-1798

*Cornelius Lyman was born in Massachusetts and was appointed from that state ensign in the 2nd Massachusetts, Jan. 1, 1781, serving to Nov. 3, 1783; lieutenant 2nd U. S. Infantry, March 4, 1791; captain July 30, 1792; assigned to 2nd Sublegion, Sept. 4, 1792; assigned to 2nd U. S. Infantry, Nov. 1, 1796; transferred to 1st Infantry, April 1, 1802; died March 23, 1805. *Heitman's Register*.

†John Whipple, ensign 2nd Infantry, July 10, 1797; 1st lieutenant March 2, 1799; transferred to 1st Infantry, April 1, 1802; captain April 11, 1803; resigned Jan. 31, 1807. *Heitman's Register*.

PRIVATES

John Agan (Agen).....1797-1798	John Lesplace.....1798
Daniel Agnew.....1797-1798	William McClellan
Nathaniel Brown.....1797	(McClennel)1797-1798
Patrick Bulger.....1798	John McKibben1798
Dudley Day.....1797-1798	Zachariah Mott.....1798
Zaphaniah Downes.....1797-1798	William O'Bryan
James Elliot.....1798	(O'Brian)1797-1798
Humphry Floyd.....1797-1798	James Pecker.....1797-1798
William Gartz.....1797-1798	Charles Raer.....1797-1798
John Griffin.....1797-1798	Joseph Richardson.....1798
George Griscom.....1797-1798	Thomas Smith.....1797-1798
Joseph Hagerty.....1797-1798	John Suttentfield
John Henry.....1797-1798	(Sullingfield)1797-1798
Philip Hoss.....1797-1798	William Ungless.....1798
John Howard.....1798	William Wellman.....1797-1798
William Howe.....1797-1798	James Williams.....1797-1798
Jacob Hykes.....1798	Lewis Wise.....1798
Thomas Janes.....1797	John Wyley (Wiley)....1797-1798
Charles Johnston.....1798	Joseph Young.....1797-1798

CAPT. GREATON'S* COMPANY.

SERGEANTS

T. Atwood	1798-1800
John Barnard	1798-1800
A. Campbell	1798-1800
Jacob Cramer (Creamer).....	1798-1799
George Mackison (Mackinson, Mackelson, Malkenson)	1797-1800

CORPORALS

David Atwood.....	1798-1800
Solomon Chapman	1797-1798
Jacob Matson	1798-1799
Patrick O'Brien	1798-1800
Isaac Tucker	1797-1800

FIFE MAJOR

John Green	1800
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FIFER

Jeremiah Hyland	1798
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DRUMMER

Patrick Conner	1797-1800
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PRIVATES

Thomas Abanather.....1797	James Brown.....1797-1800
Isaac Anderson.....1798	Patrick Burns.....1797
John Archer.....1798	William Cole.....1797-1800
David Atwood.....1800	Joseph Cooney
Justice Auger.....1797-1798	(Coony)1798-1800

*Richard Humphrey Greaton, born in Massachusetts, appointed from Massachusetts, ensign 3rd Massachusetts, Nov. 30, 1781, and served to November, 1783; lieutenant 2nd U. S. Infantry, March 4, 1791; wounded in action with Miami Indians near Fort Recovery, Ohio (St. Clair's defeat), Nov. 4, 1791; assigned to 2nd Sub-legion Sept. 4, 1792; captain Feb. 18, 1793; assigned to 2nd U. S. Infantry, Nov. 1, 1796; honorably discharged June 1, 1802; died July 18, 1815. *Heitman's Register*.

Dennis Cronon (Cronnon, Cronin)...	1797-1798	David McKinsey (McKinney)	1798
Jno. Danielson.....	1797-1800	Conrad Marts (Mark)...	1797-1798
John Donaldson (Donelson)	1798	Jacob Miller.....	1797-1800
Matthew Dougherty...	1797-1800	Robert Miller.....	1797-1798
Jesse Duchean.....	1798	Martin Morgan.....	1798-1800
Thomas Forrest.....	1798-1800	Christopher Murphy...	1797-1800
Edward Hagerty.....	1797-1800	Nathaniel Palmer.....	1797-1798
Samuel Hawkins.....	1797-1800	Peter Phelen.....	1798-1800
Jacob Haynes.....	1798	Isaac Pierce (Peairs)...	1797-1800
James Henry.....	1797-1800	William Powers.....	1797-1800
William Holding.....	1798	Elisha Pratt.....	1797-1800
Deserted before May 1, 1800.		John Ramsey.....	1797-1800
George Kelly.....	1797-1798	Peter Richards.....	1798-1800
Matthew Kelly.....	1798-1800	George Smith.....	1798
Thomas Kelly.....	1797-1800	John Smith (Beau)....	1798-1800
William Kelly.....	1797-1798	John Smith (tailor)...	1798-1800
John Kline (Cline)....	1797-1798	3rd Regiment in 1800.	
John Lafferty.....	1797-1800	Henry Taylor.....	1797-1800
Daniel Lawrence (Larrance)	1797-1800	Joseph Thayrard.....	1797-1800
Arthur Leonard.....	1797-1800	John Thompson.....	1797-1800
Joseph Long.....	1797-1800	Ebeneazer Tuttle.....	1797-1800
		John Wells.....	1797-1798

CAPT. BISSELL'S* COMPANY.

SERGEANTS

John McCarty	1800
Thomas Main	1798
John Miller	1798

CORPORALS

Charles Grim	1798-1800
John Symmonds	1798-1800

FIFER

Daniel Davidson

DRUMMERS

John Morrison	1798-1800
John Walker	1798-1800

PRIVATES

Robert Albein (Allen)...	1798	Patrick Johnson.....	1798-1800
Silas Burbank.....	1798-1800	Edward Logan.....	1798-1800
James Carlen.....	1798-1800	Edward Lowry.....	1798-1800
Samuel Christy.....	1798-1800	Barney Murphy.....	1798-1800
John Clark.....	1798	Samuel Patrick.....	1798-1800
Thomas Clark.....	1798-1800	John Pesho.....	1798
Nicholas Colhoon.....	1798-1800	Richard Rodgers.....	1798
Jonathan Cunningham..	1798	Silas Seybold (Saybold)	1798-1800
Jesse Deshain (Dushain)	1800	Joseph Waldrun.....	1798-1800
George Douglass.....	1798-1800	Peter White.....	1800
Henry East.....	1798-1800	Casper Wright.....	1798-1800
Elias Flat.....	1798-1800		
William Frost.....	1798		
Qt. M. Sergt. 1798.			

*Russell Bissell, Connecticut; Lieutenant 2nd Infantry, March 4, 1791; 2nd Sub-
legion, Sept. 4, 1792; captain Feb. 19, 1793; 2nd Infantry, Nov. 1, 1796; transferred to
1st Infantry, April 1, 1802; major 2nd Infantry, Dec. 9, 1807; died Dec. 18, 1807.

Artillery.*

CAPT. THOMPSON'S† COMPANY.

SERGEANTS

John Jones	1798-1800
Tilman Patterson	1798-1800

CORPORALS

William Howard	1798-1800
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FIFER

William Murphy	1798-1800
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PRIVATES

Benjamin Aston.....	1798-1800	Francis Hinds	
Peregrin Banthim.....	1798-1800‡	(Haines)	1798-1800
Moses Bedell (Beddle).....	1798-1800	William Lewis.....	1799-1800
James Boyle.....	1798-1800	William McBride.....	1798-1800
James Campbell.....	1798-1800	Charles McClusky.....	1798-1800
James Cassidy.....	1798-1800	James Moody.....	1798-1800
Thomas Dannahy.....	1799-1800	Stephen Reynolds.....	1798-1800
John Deal.....	1798-1800	William Robinson.....	1798-1800
Patrick Diver.....	1799	Silas J. Sargents.....	1798-1800
Francis Gallighar		James Welch (Welsh).....	1798-1800
(Galegar)	1798-1800	Asa Wilson.....	1798-1800
Anthony Gilgody.....	1798-1800		

LIEUT. TALLMAN'S COMPANY.§

James Campbell	private.....	1798
John Deal	corporal.....	1797-1798
Michael Dougherty	private.....	1797
William Farr	private.....	1798
Cyrus Griffin	"	1797
Corporal Howard		1798
Sergt. Jones		1797-1798
William Linsey	sergeant.....	1797-1798

*By the Act of April 27, 1798, the Regiment of Artillerists and Engineers was organized, consisting of three battalions, four companies each. Prior to this the Government had organized the Corps of Artillerists and Engineers and Captain Tallman had command of one company. By the new act, Captain Thompson took command and many of the men of Captain Tallman's company joined him.

†Alexander Thompson, born in New York, appointed from New York 2nd lieutenant 2nd Continental Artillery, May 31, 1779; transferred to Corps of Artillerists, June 17, 1783, and served to June 20, 1784; captain 1st Artillerists and Engineers, June 2, 1794; honorably discharged June 1, 1802; m. s. k. U. S. A. July 27, 1806; died Sept. 28, 1809. *Heitman's Register*.

‡Peregrin Banthim (Bantrim, Bantham) remained in Detroit until the fire of 1805 and was therefore eligible for a donation lot. He obtained a deed for his lot Feb. 17, 1809, and later sold it to Maj. Joseph Farwell. *Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit by Burton, 1915, page 184.*

§Peter Tallman, born in New York, was appointed from New York lieutenant of Artillerists and Engineers, Feb. 26, 1795; May 9, 1798, was lieutenant of 1st Artillerists and Engineers. He was appointed captain Dec. 29, 1800. He was retained as lieutenant in the Regiment of Artillery in April, 1802, and then made captain, July 8, 1802. He died Sept. 15, 1804. *Heitman's Register*.

Owen McCarty	private.....	1798
Charles McClusky	corporal.....	1798
Lawrence McCreight (McCreight).....	private.....	1798
William Murphy	private.....	1798
—— Patterson	sergeant.....	1797-1798
William Robertson	private.....	1797
William Robison	"	1798
David Romine	"	1797
George Sargents	"	1798
James Welsh (Walsh).....	"	1798

First United States Infantry.

CAPT. LEWIS' COMPANY IN 1802 (FEB.-MAY).

Lieutenant† Carson.....	1802	John Lupton.....	private
John Jones.....	sergeant	Martin McMaster.....	"
—— Raredon.....	"	John McMichell.....	"
Francis Burgess.....	private	William Martin.....	"
George Burnet.....	"	William Mears.....	"
John Cowburn.....	"	Thomas Mitchell.....	"
John Cummins.....	"	Patrick Monahan.....	"
Daniel Delany.....	"	William Murphy.....	"
Thomas Everige.....	"	Martin Nebeker.....	"
Edward Frame (Fram).....	"	Francis O'Neal.....	"
Moses Fugett.....	"	Christopher Pratt.....	"
Daniel Gordon.....	"	Nathan Reed.....	"
Joseph Higgins.....	"	John Roberts.....	"
Patrick Horan.....	"	William Saunders.....	"
Azariah Hoyett.....	"	Matthew Smith.....	"
Ezra Hoyett.....	"	Arthur Steel.....	"
James Huston.....	"	Francis Thimbrook.....	"
Michael Kelly.....	"	Edward Turner.....	"
John Lane.....	"	John Welsh.....	"
Isaac Lewis.....	"		

Account of J. and A. Hunt With Capt. Rosencrantz's Company.

Original in Burton Historical Collection Manuscripts, Vol. 922, Page 201.

Received Detroit Nov. 15th., 1800 of Messrs. J. and A. Hunt our orders in favor of the following men amounting to the sums respectively annexed to their names, which we promise to see paid out of the first pay due them from the United States, deaths and desertions excepted.

†Lieut. William Carson came from Pennsylvania.

David Smuten	4 orders	amt.	\$15.00	paid
Sergt. Loy	2 "	"	\$20.35	paid
Corpl. Jolly	1 "	"	\$1.00	"
Charles Haney	3 "	"	\$7.50	"
Thomas Burns	1 "	"	\$29.28	"
Charles Boyd	2 "	"	\$10.00	dead
Ameziah Ingram	2 "	"	\$6.00	deserted
John I. Waters	1 "	"	\$1.00	paid
Jerh. Sullivan	1 "	"	\$2.50	"
Jno. Mullen	2 "	"	\$15.50	deserted
Isaac Warren	P orders give up			

\$113.38

Dr. Lt. Rogers P. order for morning on private
acct. his order give up \$5.26

Dr. Capt. Rosencrantz for whiskey, thread and
sheeting, your order on your private acct.
give up \$33.75

Total Dolls. due \$152.39

Signed & apped. of the above & give J. & A. Hunt

A true Copy of the Original receipted & signed by Capt.
Rosencrantz and myself for which we are accountable the
duplicate left in the hands of Capt. Rosencrantz by mistake
19 Jan'y. 1802

J. S. ROGERS, Lieut.

DOCUMENTS ON EARLY INDIANA HISTORY.

(Continued from Page 144.)

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 2nd July 1811.

Sir,

I have this moment received a dispatch from governor Edwards* by a Militia Captain with a command of twenty men—who also brought letters addressed to you which have been deposited in the post office of this Town—by these you will be

*Ninian Edwards was born in Maryland in March, 1775, and died at Belleville, Ill., July 20, 1833. When 20 years old he came to Kentucky and after studying law was admitted to the Kentucky bar in 1798 and the Tennessee bar in 1799. He rose rapidly in his profession, holding many important offices. In 1809 Madison appointed him governor of Illinois, an office which he held until 1818. He established a line of forts from the mouth of the Missouri to the Wabash River, a defense which was greatly appreciated during the War of 1812. He was one of the first U. S. senators from Illinois, serving from Dec. 4, 1818, to March 4, 1824, when he was appointed minister to Mexico. He was recalled before reaching his post in consequence of charges made against him by William H. Crawford. He was again elected governor of Illinois and served from 1826-1830. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*.

informed of some unpleasant events which have happened in the Illinois Country. And I am sorry to add to the list of these by communicating the intelligence which I received on Sunday evening of the massacre of three whole families in that Territory about one hundred and twenty miles west of this place and fifty from Kaskaskias. Governor Edwards had received no account of this distressing affair when his express came off. I have not the least reason to doubt the accuracy of the account. There are some grounds for supposing that it was perpetrated by a party of five Shawanoes. I was informed four weeks ago that it was the intention of the Prophet to commence hostilities in the Illinois in order to cover his principal object which was an attack upon this place. These events Sir require no comment from me. They merit and will no doubt receive the immediate attention of the Government. If some decisive measures are not speedily adopted we shall have a general combination of all the Tribes against us. At present a majority with all the best informed Chiefs are for peace, but every scalp taken from us with impunity will add to the number of the hostile party. Can the President want any further proof of the Prophet's designs against us? I can assure you Sir that there is not an Indian excepting those of his party that does not know and acknowledge when asked that he is determined to attack us, and wonder at our forbearance. Governor Edwards is preparing to erect a chain of block houses around his frontiers. The people here are in great alarm and have talked of collecting in stations. I have not advised it at present, because of its ruinous consequences to the crops both of corn and wheat at this critical season. Indeed it is a plan which affords at best but a partial security. There is no safety in any defensive measures. I have taken the liberty on former occasions to express my opinions so fully on this subject that it would be presumptuous to repeat them. I think it, however, my duty to observe that the minds of the people have become so irritated in consequence of the depredations which they constantly suffer from the Prophet's party that unless measures are speedily taken to insure their own and the safety of their property they will fall upon the Indians indiscriminately wherever they meet them and punish the innocent with the guilty. I believe that no two days pass over without some Horses being stolen. I have hitherto prevented the thieves from being pursued knowing that it would inevitably lead to hostilities. In a letter from Gen. William Clark* to Governor Edwards of the 21st ult., he says "that the design of the Prophet as he has collected from different sources is to make some grand stroke as soon as he has collected a sufficient force." This I have long known as well as that this place is his object. I am also persuaded that the murders lately

*Clark. See note, page 75. About this time Clark was U. S. agent for Indian affairs of Louisiana.

committed in the Illinois were in consequence of his directions. Tecumseh† has returned to his Village but did not bring with him the Irriquois and Wyandots whom he expected to prevail upon to join him. He says that they are to come on in September. It is probable that this failure will cause a postponement of the contemplated attack until the roasting ear season.

In my last I informed you of Capt. Posey having killed Lieut. Jennings.‡ The Commissary of the Garrison gives the following account of the affair, Viz. "That he was sitting in his room in company with another person and he heard a noise resembling the report of a pistol and in a few seconds another that upon looking out at the window he saw that Lieut. Jennings had fallen out of the door of Captain Posey's Quarters apparently dead. That upon going up to him with others he was at first told by the Capt. to stand off, but in a little time the latter asked him to come in. Upon his asking for an explanation of the scene before him—He said that Lieut. Jennings had come into his room, that some altercation had taken place between them—that he had insisted upon the Lieut.'s fighting him and had offered him the choice of his pistols, that he had put one of them into the Lieut's hand and that the latter instantly seized him by the neck or breast when he (the Capt.) shot him. Upon being asked how he come to shoot him the second time he said that he could not account for it but supposed that Jennings had dropped his pistol and that he had taken it up. Jennings received one ball in his right breast which passed through his body and the other behind the left shoulder which ranged along his back and came out at the right shoulder. His clothes both behind and before were burned with the powder. Jennings was certainly entirely unarmed when he went into the Captain's room. It is equally certain that the Captain told two persons two days before the fatal affair that he expected that Jennings meant to assassinate him and that he had been twice to his room door in the night he believed for that purpose. I am told also that Mr. Jennings told two different persons some time before that he would kill the Captain if he could.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Sir, your Obt. Servt.,

Hon'ble

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Wm. Eustis Esq.,

Secretary of War.

†Tecumseh, a Shawanee chief, was born near the site of Springfield, Ohio, about 1768, a brother of the Prophet (see note, page 140). He spent several years trying to unite the tribes of Indians into a confederacy to overthrow the white people. Harrison's victory at Tippecanoe ruined his plans and he joined the British, commanding the Indian allies in the War of 1812. He distinguished himself for his bravery, but was killed at the Battle of the Thames, Canada, Oct. 5, 1813, by Col. Richard M. Johnson. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*.

‡Lieut. Jesse Jennings, of Kentucky, was 2nd lieutenant 7th Infantry, Dec. 12, 1808; 1st lieutenant Aug. 1, 1810, and was killed June 24, 1811, at Vincennes, by Capt. Thornton Posey. *Heliman's Register*, etc.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 10th July 1811.

Sir,

From the Illinois Post rider who has just arrived I learn that but one of the three families which were supposed to be murdered as mentioned in my letter of the 3rd inst., have really suffered,—the other two were fortunate enough to make their escape into the settlement. Should any murder be committed upon any of our Citizens in this neighbourhood we should be placed in a most disagreeable situation on account of the friendly Tribes of Weas, Piankeshaws and Delawares. They (the Weas particularly) are very much mixed in with our settlements and it would be absolutely impossible to distinguish them in many instances from the hostile Indians. I know of no other mode of saving them but by removing the Weas considerably into the settled country and supporting them. The Delawares might be confined to their Towns, which are placed in a favorable situation for that purpose. In case of open war some arrangements must also be made in favor of the Miamis and friendly Potawatomes. Those of the latter which are attached to us are sincerely so. I have supposed that if the Prophet does not immediately throw off the mask and commence the war, that calamity might yet be avoided by marching a considerable force up to our exterior boundary on the Wabash and requiring the immediate dispersion of the Banditti he has collected. This measure would give confidence to our friends, confirm the wavering (if any yet waver) in favor of peace, and perhaps break up the Confederacy.

If no appointment of Surgeon's mate for this garrison has been made permit me to request that post for Doctor Edward Scull* of this place. Dr. S. is 24 or 5 years of age, of respectable connexion, has received a regular Classical education at Princeton, then commenced the study of Medicine in Pittsburgh under Dr. Stevenson and finally finished his studies by attending the Medical lectures in Philadelphia. He is a young man of good moral character,—attentive to his profession and possessed, as I sincerely believe, of uncommon skill for his experience.

Certificates of his regular Education will be forwarded to you.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect,

Sir, your Humble Servant,

Honorable

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

William Eustis Esq.;

Secretary of War.

*Dr. Edward Scull was born in Pennsylvania, joined the army from Indiana as surgeon of Indiana volunteers, 1811 and 1812. He was made surgeon of the 19th Infantry April 8, 1814; transferred to the 22nd Infantry, May 21, 1814; transferred to the 1st Infantry, May 17, 1815, and died Nov. 28, 1815. He was wounded at the Battle of Tippecanoe. *Heitman's Register, etc.; Filson Club, No. 15.*

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 10 July 1811.

Sir,

Captain Wilson the officer whom I sent to the Prophet's Town returned on Sunday last. He was well received and treated with particular friendship by Tecumseh. He obtained however no satisfaction. The only answer given was that in 10 days Tecumseh would pay me a visit for the purpose of explaining his conduct. Upon being told that I would not suffer him to come with a large force, he promised to bring with him a few men only. I shall not however depend upon this promise, but shall have the river well watched by a party of scouts after the descent of the Chief lest he should be followed by his warriors. I do not think that this will be the case. The detection of the hostile designs of an Indian is generally (for that time) to defeat them. The hopes of an expedition, conducted through many hundred miles of toil and difficulty, are abandoned frequently, upon the slightest suspicion of discovery—their painful steps retraced—and a more favorable moment expected. With them the surprise of an enemy bestows more eclat upon a warrior than the most brilliant success obtained by other means. Tecumseh has taken for his model the celebrated Pontiac and I am persuaded that he will bear a favourable comparison in every respect with that far famed warrior. If it is his object to begin with the surprise of this place, it is impossible that a more favourable situation could have been chosen than the one he occupies. It is just so far off as to be removed from an immediate observation, and yet so near as to enable him to strike us when the water is high in 24 hours, and even when it is low their light canoes will come fully as fast as the journey could be performed on horse back. The situation is in other respects admirable for the purposes for which he has chosen it. It is nearly central with regard to the Tribes which he wishes to unite. The water communication with Lake Erie by means of the Wabash and Miami, with Lake Michigan and the Illinois by the Tippicanoe is a great convenience. It is immediately in the centre of the back line of that fine country which he wishes to prevent us from settling, and above all he has immediately in his rear a country that has been but little explored, consisting principally of barren thickets interspersed with swamps and Lakes into which our Cavalry could not penetrate and our Infantry only by slow and laborious efforts.

I have some reason to believe that the information I have given and the opinions I have expressed on the subject of the Prophet and his intentions have been considered by some of the

members of the Government as premature and unfounded. This has not however prevented me from continuing to communicate all the intelligence I receive with such observations as my local situation enabled me to make, and I shall continue to do so untill I am directed to do otherwise. I know that the President is too just to censure an officer for unintentional error or to lend a favourable ear to the calumnies which are so industriously circulated to the prejudice of every one who is placed in a situation in any way conspicuous, and of which I have had my full share. Be the event of my opinions and predictions what they may, I am satisfied that I shall suffer no otherwise in the estimation of the President than to be considered as a man of feeble judgment and *indolous* disposition. That indeed would be sufficiently mortifying and humiliating, but I willingly run the risque of incurring it by again repeating that unless some decisive and energetic measure is adopted to break up the combination formed by the Prophet we shall soon have every Indian Tribe in this quarter united against us, and you may depend on it that it will be attended with much trouble and expense and loss of blood to subdue them. In my former communications I have treated so largely upon the situation of the Indians and the causes which would bring them to unite and to make war upon us that I deem it unnecessary to repeat them, as little would I consider myself authorized to trespass upon you a reiteration of those opinions which I have before given upon the plan that was proper to be adopted to defeat the Prophet's schemes. I shall only observe that I had attached some degree of importance to the proposition which I had the honor to make last fall of sending a speech from your office to the Prophet in the President's name. He has been repeatedly told that the acquirement of more land was no object with the U. States, that they had more than they could possibly settle, that the frequent purchases which have been made for some years past had no other object than to distress the Indians,—that the scheme originated with me—and that the U. States would give up a considerable part of them rather than go to war with the Indians—and the latter had nothing to do but to contend for them in this way—and every thing they required would be granted.

Although I have no doubt that the mischief which has been done in the Illinois is to be attributed to the Prophet, I think it nevertheless extremely probable that his friends there have gone further than he intended and that he did not mean that more than one or two persons should be killed, for upon mature reflection and comparing a number of circumstances which I have learned relatively to his situation, I do not think that he intended that the war should break out at this time. I may however be mistaken. Those circumstances which I mention as forming the ground of my opinion may have been artfully brought into view for the purpose of deception.

Mr. John Johnson,* the Factor of Fort Wayne, has applied to me for the agency of the Shawonoe Tribe with a small salary, and in case of success will resign his appointment as Factor. His object is to live on his farm near the Town of the Shawonoes. He says he will require no interpreter nor will the agency be attended with any other expense than the five hundred dollars which may be allowed him as a salary. If the arrangement which I had the honor to recommend in April last for the appointment of a sub-agent for each Tribe be adopted, I can see no objection to gratify Mr. Johnson, but the loss of his services from Fort Wayne which I estimate very highly.

I have the Honor to be with great respect, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Honorable
William Eustis,
Secretary of War.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 24th July 1811.

Sir,

In the letter which I had the honor to write you on the 10th instant, I informed you that Tecumseh had been told by Capt. Wilson that I would not suffer him to come here with a large body of Indians and that he promised he would bring a few with him only. Notwithstanding this he is now actually within a few miles of me with one hundred and twenty or thirty warriors, exclusively of the Weas who are coming on behind him. The Chief† of the latter I know he has seduced to his interest, how many of his men may have followed his example I know not—but the greater part of them are rascals that will engage in any mischief that their fears will permit them to undertake. The preparation which I have made to repel an attack should one be made is the stationing two companies of Militia Infantry and a Detachment of fifteen Dragoons on the borders of the Town which are relieved every two days—and the whole of the neighbouring militia are put on the alert.

*John Johnson. See note, page 69.

†The chief of the Weas was LaPousser. See note, page 103.

The above mentioned force is not sufficient for the defence of the Town—it would require at least four Companies—but the scarcity of provisions has prevented me from employing more. We shall however assume the most imposing attitude. The insolence which is manifested by the Shawnee in bringing such a body of men with him after my positive injunction to the contrary shows his real character. If it was not for the solemn injunctions of the President to preserve peace if possible, he should not come here until he had secured the right to do so by a previous victory—but under the obligations imposed by your Orders of November last, I shall bear with him as much as is possible until your final instructions shall be received. The alarm and irritation amongst the people has however reached to such a highth that I am in constant apprehension of their firing upon some of the parties that are passing through the settlements in every direction. And it is impossible for them to distinguish the hostile Tribes from those that are friendly. To prevent any accidents of this kind I keep the Interpreter Brouellette† constantly riding through the Country visiting the Indian Camps and informing the whites of what he learns respecting them.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Honorable
William Eustis Esq.,
Secretary of War.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 6th August 1811.

Sir,

In my letter of the 24th ultimo, I had the Honor to inform you of the approach of the Shawonoe Chief Tecumseh with a considerable body of Indians. He did not make his appearance here untill Saturday the 27th, having taken eight days in coming about 75 miles. This delay was owing to a disappointment in meeting with the several detachments which came by land, and who were not at the rendezvous he had appointed at the time of his arrival. On the 25th Captain Wilson, the officer whom I had formerly sent to him, met him at Bosseron about 20 miles from this place

†Michel Brouillit, interpreter, signed the treaty Harrison made with the Piankashaws at Vincennes, Dec. 30, 1805.

with a message from me, expressing my astonishment at his bringing so large a force with him, notwithstanding my positive injunctions, and his promise to the contrary. After some equivocation he said that he had but 24 men with him and that the rest had come of their own accord and that every thing should be explained to my satisfaction upon his arrival at Vincennes. On Saturday the 27th he arrived with all those who came by water, and on the next day the party which came by land arrived also, making in the whole about three hundred persons, of whom between twenty and thirty were women and children. I endeavoured to get him to an immediate interview, that I might send him off as soon as possible, and appointed Monday for that purpose. He would not however attend on that day, and it was late on Tuesday before he made his appearance at the Arbor which I had erected for the occasion. An hour before his arrival he sent to know whether I was to be attended by armed men at the council or not, in which case he said his young men would be armed also. I informed him that he might take his choice. If his men were armed, those which I had on duty would be so too, but if his men left their guns at their Camp, I should have no other armed men than 25 or 30 Dragoons dismounted. He preferred the latter arrangement and came attended by about 170 or 180 men without guns,—but all of them having knives and Tomahawks or war clubs and some with bows and arrows.

In my address to him I mentioned the great alarm which the late murders in the Illinois, and his appearance with so large a force had occasioned amongst our people, and told him that I was ready to listen to any thing that himself or any of the Chiefs had to say, but that I would enter into no negotiation on the subject of the late purchase. The affair being entirely in the hands of the President who had not sent any answer to the claim which he had last year set up to it in behalf of all the Tribes on the Continent. That he might if he pleased go and see the President and hear his determination from his own mouth. I required an explanation of the seizure of the salt.* In his reply he began with this subject—admitted that it had been taken but said he was not at home either this Spring or the year before when the salt boats arrived, that it was impossible to please me,—last year I was angry because the salt was refused, and I was this year equally so because it was taken—after a few other observations of no moment he requested me to adjourn the Council, untill the next day. I was obliged, indeed, to do so on account of a violent rain. I waited for them the next day untill near two o'clock.

*Early in 1811 when the annuities from the Government were sent to the Indians, Harrison sent a boatload of salt; part was to go to the Prophet for the Shawanees and the Kickapoos. The Prophet seized the whole cargo, alleging that he had 2,000 men to feed who had been without salt for two years. *History of Fort Wayne, by Brice, page 190.*

They at length arrived, and the Wea Chief began a long unconnected speech, in which he professed to give a history of all the Treaties which had been made by myself on the part of the U. States and the Indian Tribes. He concluded with saying that he had heard that the Miami Chiefs had been forced by the Potawatamies to make the late Treaty at Fort Wayne and that it would be proper to institute an enquiry to find out the person who had held the Tomahawk over their heads and punished him. The allusion was made to Winemack† a Potawatomie Chief whose uniform attachment to the U. States had drawn upon him the hatred of the Prophet and his party. This statement was immediately contradicted by me, and the Miami Chiefs who were present appealed to for its falsehood.

Anxious to bring the Council to a close I then told Tecumseh that he had it in his power by a single act to manifest the truth of his professions of friendship to the U. States and his desire to preserve peace, by delivering up the two Potawatomies who murdered the four white men on the Missourie last fall and who I knew were in his Camp. His reply was long and somewhat artfull, but his designs were more completely developed by it than by any thing that I have yet heard from him. He said that after much trouble and difficulty he had at length brought all the northern Tribes to unite, and place themselves under his direction. That the white people were unnecessarily alarmed at his measures, that they really meant nothing but peace. The U. States had set him the example of forming a strict union among all the *fires* that compose their confederacy. That the Indians did not complain of it. Nor should his white brothers complain of him for doing the same thing with regard to the Indian Tribes. As soon as the Council was over he was to set out on a visit to the Southern Tribes to get them to unite with those of the North. To my demand of the murderers, he observed that they were not in his Town, as I had been informed, and if they were he could not deliver them, that it was not right to punish those people, that they ought to be forgiven as well as those who lately murdered our people in the Illinois, that he had set us our example of forgiveness of injuries which we ought to follow. The Ottowas had murdered one of his women, and the Osage one of his relations, and yet he had forborne to revenge them, that he had even taken the Tom hawks out of the hands of those who were ready to march against the Osages. To my enquiry whether he was determined to prevent the settlement of the new purchase, he replied that he hoped no attempts would be made to settle it untill his return next Spring. That a great number of Indians were coming to settle at his Town this fall, and that they must occupy that Tract as a hunting ground, and if they did no farther injury, they

†Winemack. See note, page 104.

might kill the cattle and hogs of the white people which would produce disturbance, that he wished everything to remain in its present situation until his return, our settlements not to progress further, and no revenge sought for any injury that had been or should be received by the white people until his return, that he would then go and see the President and settle everything with him. That the affairs of all the Tribes in this quarter were in his hands, and that nothing could be done without him, that he would dispatch messengers in every direction to prevent them from doing any more mischief, and that he made full atonement for the murders which had been committed by the Wampum which he delivered.

I made a short reply telling them that the moon which they beheld (for it was then night) would sooner fall to the earth than the President would suffer his people to be murdered with impunity, and that he would put his warriors in petticoats sooner than he would give up a country which he had fairly acquired from the rightful owners. I then broke up the meeting. I was not however able to get the bulk of the Indians off until Saturday. Tecumseh did not set out until yesterday—he then descended the Wabash attended by 20 men on his way to the southward. The day before he set out he paid me a visit and labored hard to convince me that he had no other intention by this journey than to prevail on all the Tribes to unite in the bond of peace. After having visited the Creeks and Chocktaws he is to visit the Osages and return by the Missouri.

I have not been able to determine what was the object of Tecumseh in coming here with so large a force. If it was his object to attack the Town at some unguarded moment, I am persuaded that the Miami Chiefs who accompanied him knew nothing of it. My Spies say that he intended to demand a retrocession of the late purchase, and if it was not obtained to seize some of the Chiefs who were active in making the Treaty in my presence and put them to death, and should I interfere I was to have shared the same fate. Had he found me unprepared I am certain that he would have found means to pick a quarrel. That he had some design in view which he thought fit to abandon is most evident from a variety of circumstances. At the moment he was promising Captain Wilson to bring but a few men with him he was sending in every direction to collect his people. Besides those who were encamped with him and drew provisions there were considerable numbers hanging about the settlements in small parties and at one time upwards of one hundred within two miles of the Town Northwest of the Wabash. His manner throughout the Council was so embarrassed that it was evident to all that he had been put out of his Tract, and that the speech he made was not that which he had prepared for the occasion. That he meditated a blow at this time was believed by almost all of the neutral Indians, and the information which was given to Gen. Clark upon

the subject by some of the Mississippi Tribes, and to me by many individual Indians, and white persons agreed in almost every particular.

To intimidate and to prevent him from attempting any enterprise against us I made as great a display of force as possible. The day of his arrival, I had a review of the neighbouring militia at which there were between 700 and 800 men under arms. The two Infantry Companies on duty were increased to three, and these being relieved on different days, by some management in marching and changing quarters, it appeared to the Indians that four or five companies were on constant duty. The elegant Troop of Dragoons commanded by Captain Parke (who is also one of our Supreme Judges) were exhibited to the greatest advantage, and nightly patrols—both of horse and foot—announced a vigilance which defied surprises. The Indians were in astonishment and Terror, and I believe most of them went off impressed with the belief, that Vincennes was not as easily to be taken as their Chief would have convinced them.

I have the Honor to be with great respect, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The Honorable
William Eustis,
Secretary of War.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, August 6th 1811.

Sir,

I had the honor to receive by the last mail your letter of the 11th ultimo, and I sincerely agree with you that there are no funds at the disposal of the Executive for paying the Detachment of Militia that were called into actual service last year. The greater part of these men were paid the amount of what was due to them by Mr. Charles Smith a merchant of this place soon after their discharge, and it has been with some difficulty that I have prevailed upon him to refrain from issuing warrants against them. May I ask the favour of you, Sir, to insert a paragraph in a letter to me that I may show to Mr. Smith, assuring him that an appropriation will be made at the next session of Congress for the discharge of this debt.

It is perhaps fortunate for us here that your letter did not sooner come to hand or I should have considered myself precluded

by it from furnishing the Militia that have been on duty here with provisions at the expense of the United States. The authority under which the Militia were formerly ordered out (and which has never been revoked) allowed me, when in my opinion the threatened hostilities with the Indians made such a measure necessary to call two or three Companies into actual service at the expence of the United States. Upon the latter occasion I thought it best to relieve the companies on duty every two days, for this short time they could serve without pay, and no further expence has been incurred than the provisions they have drawn and a little forage for the Dragoons.

If the President should think it proper to authorize any military enterprize in this quarter, men will not be wanting. The Militia of the Territory are subject by law to be called whenever the Governor shall think it necessary. Indeed, an army of volunteers from this and the neighbouring Territories and States might be had to any amount. I sincerely hope that some measures may be adopted to protect the settlements in the new purchase. The interests of the U. States and the prosperity of the Territory are equally concerned in it. I know a single individual, an emigrant from N. Carolina, who has \$20,000 in cash to lay out in that Tract—and numberless other persons are holding up their money for the same purpose.

Captain Z. Taylor* has been placed in command at the Garrison near this. To all the qualities which are esteemed in an amiable man he appears to unite those which form a good officer. In the short time he has been in command he has rendered the Garrison defensible—before his arrival it resembled any thing but a place of defense.

I have the Honor to be with great respect, Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The Honorable
William Eustis,
Secretary of War.

(Vincennes, Aug. 6th 1811.

Wm. H. Harrison—Acknowledging letter of the 11th ult., regrets that there are no funds for the payment of the Militia. Wishes something to be written to shew the merchant who paid them. Capt. Taylor a good Officer. Rec'd Aug. 20th 1811.)

*Capt. Zachary Taylor was a Virginian by birth and came to Vincennes as a U. S. military officer to take command of Fort Knox. He gained distinction in his defense of Fort Harrison in 1811. He resided in Vincennes with his family and here his daughter was born who afterwards married Jefferson Davis in a runaway match. After the War of 1812 he was stationed at Baton Rouge, La., in command of the Department of the Gulf. He distinguished himself in the Mexican War and was elected the twelfth President of the United States in 1848. He died in office, July 4, 1850. *Cauthorn's History of Vincennes*, pages 185-186.

MANUSCRIPTS AND RECORDS
FROM THE
BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION

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William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, August 7th, 1811.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 17th and 20th Ultimo.* My letter of yesterday will inform you of the arrival and departure of Tecumseh from this place and of the route which he has taken.

There can be no doubt but his object is to excite the southern Indians to war against us. His Mother was of the Creek Nation and he builds much upon that circumstance towards forwarding his view. I do not think that there is any danger of any further hostility until he returns. And his absence affords a most favorable opportunity for breaking up his confederacy, and I have some expectation of being able to accomplish it without a recourse to actual hostility. Tecumseh assigned the next Spring as the period of his return. I am informed, however, that he will be back in three months. There is a Potawatomie War Chief here, who says he was present when the message from the British Agent was delivered to the Prophet, telling him that the time had arrived for taking up arms, and inviting him to send a party to Malden to receive the necessary supplies. This man is one of the few of those who preserve their independence.

The implicit obedience and respect which the followers of Tecumseh pay to him is really astonishing, and more than any other circumstance bespeaks him one of those uncommon geniuses, which spring up occasionally to produce revolutions and over-

*See Dawson's *Historical Narrative of the Civil and Military Services of Maj. Gen. William H. Harrison*, pages 190-192.

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turn the established order of things. If it were not for the vicinity of the United States, he would perhaps be the founder of an Empire that would rival in glory that of Mexico or Peru. No difficulties deter him. His activity and industry supply the want of letters. For four years he has been in constant motion. You see him today on the Wabash and in a short time you hear of him on the shores of Lake Erie or Michigan, or on the banks of the Mississippi and wherever he goes he makes an impression favorable to his purposes.

He is now upon the last round to put a finishing stroke to his work. I hope, however, before his return that that part of the fabrick which he considered complete will be demolished and even its foundations rooted up. Altho' the greater part of his followers are attached to him from principle and affection, there are many others who follow him through fear and he was scarcely a mile from the Town, before they indulged in the most violent invectives against him. The Prophet is impudent and audacious, but is deficient in judgment, talents and firmness.

Under the strong injunctions used in your letter against employing the Troops under Col. Boyd, but in case of absolute necessity, I shall forbear to call on here, any other part of them than the Company of Infantry of the 2nd Regiment commanded by Capt. Piat.

The outlines of my plan are to call upon all the Tribes, in the most peremptory terms to deliver up such of their people as may have been concerned in murdering our Citizens. To require them also to fulfill that article of the Treaty of Greenville, which obliges them to give information of and to stop any parties passing through their Districts with hostile intentions, and that all such as are marching to join the Prophet are considered by us as of that description. To require them also to cause such of their people as may have joined the Prophet immediately to return to their respective Tribes, or to put them out of their protection. From the Miamies I will require an absolute disavowal of all connection with the Prophet, and as they are the owners of the land he occupies, I will endeavor to prevail upon them to express to him their disapprobation of his remaining there. To all the Tribes I will repeat a declaration which I was instructed to make to them some years ago by the Secretary of War. That the United States had manifested through a series of years the utmost justice and generosity towards their Indian Neighbours, and had not only fulfilled all the engagements which they entered into with them, with good faith, but had spent considerable sums in endeavours to civilize them and promote their happiness, but if under those circumstances which they all had an opportunity of knowing any Tribe should dare to take up the Tomhawk against their Fathers, they need not expect that the same lenity would be shewn them as they experienced at the close of the former war, but that they would be absolutely exterminated, or driven beyond

the Mississippi. I believe, Sir, that by the employment of proper agents to disseminate speeches which shall contain the above demands and declarations and by making use of some management to secure the exertions of influential Chiefs in support of them that the combination formed by the Prophet will be dissolved. But to ensure success some Military force must be brought into view, for this purpose if it meets with your approbation and there will be time enough to obtain your answer, I shall about the middle of September move up to the upper line of the new purchase with the two Companies of Regulars, fourteen or fifteen Companies of Militia and two Troops of Dragoons, the latter comprising about one hundred men.

Should circumstances render it necessary to break up the prophet's establishment by force and I should discover that this force is not sufficient I can add to it two or three other Companies from this County and as many volunteers as I choose to accept from Kentucky provided they are suffered to be mounted. Indeed, Sir, they ought all to be mounted. The Militia of the Western Country are only formidable when acting as mounted Infantry, and in this way from the velocity of their movements. They are formidable, indeed, undisciplined as they are. I have taught a few companies around this place to form a line or line of Battle from a line of March in the manner practiced by General Wayne, but excepting these, there is nothing like discipline in the Infantry. Let me beg your attention to this subject and request that I may be allowed to use mounted Militia, upon any expedition that may be thought necessary. If circumstances should render Col. Boyd's Regiment unnecessary at the point to which they were originally destined, I had much rather have them than Militia. The event of General Wayne's action proved that disciplined musketry with their flanks secured by Dragoons and mounted riflemen are the best troops even against Indians. Infantry that are disciplined in the common manner can easily be formed for woods fighting, it requires only the observance of very open order and doubling up, instead of wheeling.

I have this moment received a letter from Governor Edwards. No new aggression from the Indians had occurred in that Territory. Governor Edwards enclosed me the copy of a letter from himself to Governor Howard,* which contains so many just observations on our present difference with the Prophet and his party that I have taken the liberty of enclosing you an extract from it.

*Gov. Benjamin Howard, a native of Virginia, was twice elected to Congress from the State of Kentucky. On April 17, 1810, he succeeded Meriwether Lewis as governor of Upper Louisiana Territory. He resigned as governor a short time before the division of that territory and the admission of Missouri as a territory. In 1813 he was appointed brigadier general in the U. S. army and died at St. Louis, Sept. 18, 1814. On Feb. 14, 1811, he married Mary T. Mason, daughter of S. T. Mason, in Loudon County, Va. She died March 21, 1813. *Billon's Annals of St. Louis in Its Territorial Days*, Vol. II, pages 402-404; *Chicago Hist. Colls.*, Vol. III, pages 56-57.

at any rate to stop the further accumulation of force at that point. The latter may perhaps be effected by calling upon the contiguous Tribes as we have a right to do, to prevent the reinforcements destined for the prophet from marching through their country, and the latter by calling upon those who are connected with us by treaty to withdraw their warriors from him. But our demands and remonstrances must be supported by an exhibition of force. It is in vain to threaten unless we shew that we are not only willing but able and ready to chastise. Heedless of futurity, it is only by placing the danger before his eyes, that a savage is to be controlled. Even the gallant Tecumseh is not insensible to an argument of this kind. No courtier could be more complaisant than he was upon his late visit. To have heard him one would have supposed that he came here for the purpose of complimenting me. This wonderful metamorphosis in manner was entirely produced by the gleaming and clanging of arms and by the frowns of a considerable body of hunting shirt men, which accidentally lined a road by which he approached to the council House.

But let me assure you, Sir, that I feel most forcibly the responsibility imposed upon me, by the President's directions "to preserve peace if possible." And that resource to actual hostilities shall be had only when every other means shall have been tried in vain to effect the disbanding the Prophet's force. Unless this is done, no arrangement that we can make can ensure our tranquility for two months. And it appears to me, that the pecuniary interests of the United States are as much concerned in effecting it as are its honor and dignity, and the peace and prosperity of the citizens of the Frontiers. As to the means of accomplishing it, the appearance of a considerable force is essential whether we apply immediately to the prophet himself or indirectly through the medium of the other Tribes, in the manner proposed above. Backed by a measure of this kind our friends amongst the Indians would speak with firmness and decision. The timid would be overawed and the wavering (and the majority are of that description) brought over to our side.

I shall expect your final directions by the middle of September, and whatever they may be, whether agreeing with my own opinion or not, they will be punctually and cheerfully obeyed. When the Militia and Regular Troops act together in *this Territory*, the Articles of War would give me an unquestionable right to command. I am not certain what would be the effect should we be obliged to go into another Territory. The line separating this from the Illinois pursues the general course of the Wabash for some distance up and is found sometimes on one side and then on the other of that River. Besides it may be necessary that an expedition should be undertaken against some of the Tribes which reside in that Territory. From your last letter it appears that the President intended that the principal direction of the Military should be with me. Would it not be proper then that I

should receive some specific authority for that purpose. I know not well what it should be myself, but I should suppose something like that given to Governor Lee by the President upon the expedition against the Pennsylvania Insurgents in 1794.

I have already informed you that the best understanding exists between the Governors Edwards and Howard and myself, and as neither of them have had any military experience, I should have no doubt of receiving any authority that they could give, but by the Ordinance which is our Constitution they are precluded from giving any commissions higher than that of Colonel.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The Hon'ble

Wm. Eustis Esq're,

Secretary of War.

**Extract of a Letter from Governor Harrison to Mr. Johnson,
Indian Agent at Fort Wayne.**

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Under these circumstances it is a matter of the first importance to ascertain how far the disaffection may have extended amongst the tribes of your agency, and to assure the fidelity of those who still continue faithful or who may be fluctuating between their attachment to me and the inducements which may be held out to them to join the hostile party. From what I have heard and my knowledge of the dispositions of those two tribes I have little doubt of the fidelity of the Miamis or Delawares and I should suppose that that part of the Potawatomes under the control of Tipithioupe the 5 medals, and the chief who was lately at the seat of Government are also to be depended upon. You will therefore please to communicate to them my apprehensions of the Tribes mentioned above and call upon them to fulfill that article of the Treaty of Greenville which oblige them to give information to the United States of any hostile intention that may be meditated against their settlements and also to prevent any such hostile party from passing through their Country—it will be necessary forcibly to impress upon them the necessity of doing this for their own safety. For as our people will generally pursue the attacking party and as it will be impossible for them to distinguish the several Tribes the innocent will frequently suffer for the guilty and a few accidents of the kind will bring on a general war with all the tribes. Such will be the wish of the Tribes who commence the attack and they will frequently so manage their war parties as to make the mischief, they do appear to be the act of our friends. The Tribes of the Miamies, Delewares

and Potawatomes ought then immediately to take measures, in the first place to find out what is the real object of the Prophet and his friends and if they find that he is really disposed for war and they cannot induce him to abandon the project to fall upon some scheme to protect themselves from its effects and if possible to keep without its vortex. We do not wish them to take part with us unless they should themselves think it necessary. We wish only to place them in such a situation that no part of the exemplary vengeance which we shall inflict upon those Tribes who have the temerity to attack us shall fall upon their heads. A situation admirably calculated for this purpose is offered by the White River Country—if a cordon of the friendly Tribes is formed on that River from its source down to the settlements and if they absolutely preclude those who are hostile from making war in that direction they may remain there in safety without the least apprehension of being disturbed by our warriors.

But to prevent if possible the necessity of this measure which cannot do otherwise than produce inconvenience to them, a solemn deputation from all the friendly Tribes should be sent to the Prophet and his party to remonstrate upon the folly and wickedness of their designs, which must inevitably terminate in their utter destruction.

You will be pleased also to state in all your communications with the Indians upon this subject that the war that may be waged against us by any of the Tribes shall be the last that they shall ever make—As it is the positive determination of our Government after having so long and so sincerely laboured for their advantage to open their eyes to their inferior condition and to provide the means of their improvement and civilization that they will not again suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the professions of those who have so often deceived, but that the War once began it will be pursued to the utter extermination of those who shall commence it or until they are driven to such a distance as to preclude all probability of their again annoying us. To the Delawares Miamis and Potawatomes it may be observed that if they should be weak enough to suffer themselves to be seduced by our enemies the first consequence will be the forfeiture of their annuities which were granted upon the express condition of their acknowledgment of their dependence upon the United States and upon no other power whatever.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 14th August 1811.

Sir,

Since I had the honor to write to you yesterday Lieut. Hawkins has arrived, being dispatched by Capt. Piat from

Louisville to receive my instructions. After a mature deliberation upon the subject, I have thought it best to bring on the whole of Col. Boyd's Command to this place and for the following reasons. Altho You have not informed me of what point the Troops under Col. Boyd were originally intended,* I am convinced that their route must be down the Ohio and Mississippi,—their being here then will not prevent their pursuing their destination whenever the Government shall think proper. Lieut. Hawkins informed me that the whole Regiment is in keel Boats, and this circumstance together with the state of the Wabash which is in better order for navigation than I have ever seen it at this season will make their arrival here easy and expeditious and unattended with the expense of land transportation, a consideration which had some weight with me in forming the determination to bring on but one Company. Their arrival here (even if they should advance no further) will have the effect of convincing the Indians that the Government are seriously determined to protect the frontiers and to chastise the refractory Tribes. Should their services not be required to the Southward their being here will supercede the necessity of the employment of as many Militia for the purpose contemplated in my letters of the 7th & 13th Instant, as would be necessary without the aid of the Regulars—for these reasons I am convinced that you will agree with me that the Public Service will sustain no injury and that it may be benefitted by bringing on the whole Regiment to this place. It will be kept embodied and ready to descend the River whenever Orders to that effect may be received.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The Hon'ble

William Eustis Esq.,
Secretary of War.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Jeffersonville (Falls of Ohio)

3rd September 1811.

Sir,

I came to this place a week ago expecting to find here the Troops under the command of Col. Boyd. He did not however arrive until this morning. Whatever may have been the cause of this delay it is a circumstance much to be regretted, as the

*In answer to these letters see Eustis' letter of Aug. 29. *Dawson's Historical Narrative of the Civil and Military Services of Maj. Gen. William H. Harrison*, page 195.

Ohio has fallen very rapidly, and the Wabash no doubt in the same proportion. The arrival of the Regular Troops at Vincennes will be thus retarded, until within a very few days of the time which I had fixed for marching up the Wabash. Further reflection has also induced me to believe that the destination of these Troops spoken of in your former letters might be to our frontiers bordering on upper Canada. Should this be the case and a Winters March to that Quarter contemplated, the road from Vincennes would not be so eligible as that from Cincinnati but at any time when the rivers are not frozen the former route is much the best from the facility for transportation afforded by the Wabash and Miami of the Lake. If this surmise of mine with regard to the eventual destination of the 4th Regiment is correct measures may be taken which would render even a Winter March from Vincennes by no means impracticable. I mention this not with an intention of prying into the views of the Government but merely to shew that I have had an eye to every possible inconvenience that could result from the execution of the discretion vested in me relative to the employment of Col. Boyd's Regiment. The people of this Territory and Kentucky are extremely pressing in offers of their service for an expedition into the Indian Country. Any number of men might be obtained for this purpose or for a march into Canada.

Previously to my leaving Vincennes I dispatched messengers to the several Indian Tribes containing the demands and declarations mentioned in a former letter—a demonstration of force on the Wabash will give efficacy to them and will most probably produce an entire dispersion of the Prophet's party. But should they fail, my own opinion is decidedly in favour of marching to the immediate neighborhood of his Town and demanding Hostages for their compliance with our demands on this subject. I will not however venture upon this step unless I receive your directions to that effect. It is also a question worthy of deliberation whether or not a Fort should be built on the reservation at the old Wea Towns, which is within fifteen miles of the Prophet's Residence.

I have appointed Capt. Piat Quarter Master of the expedition as he appears from a letter of yours to him to enjoy your confidence and is I believe very deserving of it.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect, Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Hon'ble

William Eustis Esq.,
Secretary of War.

Capt. Benjamin Parke to William Henry Harrison.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, Sept. 13th 1811.

Sir,

In compliance with your Excellency's request of the 11th Inst., the following is respectfully submitted.

It is a fact that the Prophet's party is increasing.

That defection is evidenced amongst all the Tribes from the Wabash to the Mississippi and the Lakes.

That the Indians of the Wabash, Illinois etc. have recently visited the British agent at Malden.

That they are now returning from thence with a larger supply of goods than is known ever to have been distributed to them before.

That Rifles or fasees are given to those who are unarmed and powder and lead to all.

And that the language and measures of the Indians indicate nothing but war.

Under these circumstances the public interest certainly does require that a larger auxiliary force of Militia should be employed than that contemplated by the Honorable the Secretary of War in his letter of the 22nd ultimo.

And from the facts stated, it would not be safe to penetrate the country as high up as the Upper line of the new purchase with the force prescribed by the letter of the Hon'ble the Secretary of War above mentioned. Were the attempts to be made, it would probably terminate in defeat and destruction.

But, admitting there would be no danger of a defeat, I should still insist that a larger force than that contemplated by the Hon'ble the Secretary of War, ought to be employed.

The Prophet appeared as the head of a party about five years since—for these years his measures have evidently been of a hostile character. Negotiation has been tried in vain—he has not abandoned his projects—and his partisans are now found from the Wabash to the Mississippi and up to the Lakes. His artifice and intrigues and the bounty of British Agents have nearly perfected his plan of uniting all the Indians within our boundary, under him—and nothing but the appearance of a force much larger than that contemplated by the Hon'ble the Secretary of War will dissolve the confederacy. Four or five hundred men might excite alarm on the Wabash; but to make an impression on the distant Tribes a force of several thousand ought to be exhibited. This would silence the turbulent and unprincipled—restore the timid and wavering—and give countenance and support to the friends of the U. States.

Measures of a temporizing nature or any further delay would evidently jeopardize the peace and safety of the frontiers.

The smallest review of fortune on the part of the Government would instantly unite all the Indians against it—and a five years war would scarcely be sufficient to restore peace to the frontiers.

I have the Honor to be respectfully, Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

B. PARKE,* Capt.

Light Dragoons.

His Excellency

William H. Harrison.

Waller Taylor to William Henry Harrison.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, Sept. 15th, 1811.

Sir,

Your Excellency has requested my opinion on two propositions, the 1st is "Would it be safe to penetrate the Country as high up as the upper line of the new purchase with the force prescribed by the Honorable, the Secretary of War by his letter of the 22nd ultimo?" 2nd. "Admitting that there would be no danger of a defeat, would not the object of the Expedition be greatly promoted and the public interest essentially served by employing the whole auxiliary force provided by the Governor—say, eleven Infantry Companies of Militia and three or four of Dragoons?"

In answer to the first proposition, I beg leave to state as my decided opinion that the force contemplated by the Hon'ble the Secretary of War would be insufficient to accomplish the object in view with safety. The Spirit of Hostility manifested by the Prophet and his followers (who it is said are daily increasing), the thefts and murders committed within a few months past, and the unusual quantities of Arms, Ammunition, etc., which not only these, but the Indians generally have received from the British Agent at Fort Malden, strongly evidence a disposition to commence War as soon as a fit opportunity occurs. If a small force were marched into their vicinity, very little doubt can be entertained but it would be attacked and most probably be defeated. Should this be the case our extended frontiers would be immediately exposed to the Ravages and depredations of warfare.

But admitting that a defeat would not result from marching to the upper line of the new purchase, still it is my opinion that

*Benjamin Parke. See note, page 109.

the object of the Expedition would be better promoted by employing a more considerable force than your Excellency has provided, tho' that may probably answer a very salutary purpose. To dissolve the Combination which is openly avowed to be forming amongst the Indians and which threatens destruction to our scattered and defenceless Citizens, requires a force that would awe the turbulent and refractory, confirm the timid and wavering, and insure protection and safety to the friendly and well disposed. It would therefore seem to me the best policy to crush in Embryo a scheme, which if suffered to be matured, will involve the United States in a war with the Indians, to terminate which great expense will be incurred, and the lives of numbers of our Citizens will be sacrificed.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect, Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,
WALLER TAYLOR.*

His Excellency
William H. Harrison.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 17th Sept. 1811.

Sir,

I have the Honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd ultimo. From letters which you will have received from Col. Boyd and myself you are apprised of my having anticipated your orders, and that the whole of the Detachment under his command are on their way to this place. The Colonel came through with me by land from Louisville and the Troops were sent round by water under the command of Col. Miller. I calculate upon their being here tomorrow or next day. I must now, Sir, request the Honor of your attention whilst I explain the motives which have induced me to exceed your Instructions with regard to the number of Militia to be employed as auxiliaries to the regular Troops upon the proposed Expedition up the Wabash. In my letter of the 7th Ultimo I informed you that I contemplated using two Companies of Regulars 14 or 15 of Militia Infantry

*Waller Taylor was a native of Lunenburg County, Va. He studied law and came to Vincennes in the early territorial days to practice his profession. He was elected judge of the Court of Common Pleas and when the state was admitted to the Union in 1816 was elected U. S. senator. During the Tippecanoe campaign he acted on Harrison's staff as major and aid-de-camp. He died at his mother's house in Lunenburg County, Va., Aug. 26, 1826. *Cauthorn's History of the City of Vincennes*, page 190; *Filson Club*, No. 15.

and two Troops of Dragoons, making an aggregate of nearly 1200 men. The Substitute of the whole of Col. Boyd's detachment for an equal number of Militia is doubtless a very favourable exchange, particularly if the object was to bring the Indians to action under any circumstances. But the number of the Detachment fit for duty on the day of their arrival at Louisville was not much above four hundred and it is more than probable that other casualties will considerably reduce it. Capt. Posey's Company now in garrison at Fort Knox with five or six men of the Rifle Corps annexed to it will not give more than forty effective, making in all of Regular Troops about four hundred and fifty, from this is to be deducted a small command to be left in Garrison at Fort Knox. The Remainder added to the two Troops of Dragoons will form a force of 550 men, a number about equal to that which the Prophet has under his immediate control. My own opinion is that with this force we might march to the upper line of the new purchase, erect a Fort and return with safety. It would however present to the Indians a great temptation and the defeat of this Detachment would give to the Prophet's Party an eclat that would enable him to effect his purpose of uniting all the Tribes in a War against us. The appearance of a Military force in the Neighborhood of the Indian Towns will produce a good or an ill effect in proportion to the operation it will have upon their fears. A small body of men will excite their contempt, a large one (such as they will think themselves unable to resist) will not only deprive them of a wish to measure their strength with ours, but will cause all those who waver to decide in our favour and even many of those who are now in close union with the Prophet will think of nothing but retracing their steps and submitting to a compliance with our just demands. Our Friends will be unable to speak out openly as such and be freed from the necessity of skulking about the Woods (as at this moment) for fear of their lives. You will see below that Mr. Dubois reports that almost every Indian from the Country above this had been or were then come to Malden on a visit to the British Agent. We shall probably gain our destined point at the moment of their return. If then the British Agents are really (as I most sincerely believe) endeavouring to instigate the Indians to make war upon us) we shall be in their neighbourhood at the very moment when the impressions which have been made against us are most active in the minds of the savages. In your letter of the 17th July you enjoin it upon me in the most peremptory manner "not to attack the Prophet without having a force that would ensure success." The injunction appears to me to include a prohibition of placing myself in a situation with a Military force where I could be attacked with success, as the consequences in either case would be nearly the same. Upon the whole I think that the preservation of peace which is the great object of the President (and certainly of myself also) would be Jeopardized by

the employment of any force which the Prophet might think himself able to contend with. I do not think him much of a Warrior, but he is certainly daring, presumptuous and rash. In proportion to the strength of our Detachment not only the relative but the actual numbers of his followers will be decreased and if such a force as I could raise in two weeks was to go up and erect a Fort upon the reservation of the Old Wea Towns, I would pledge my reputation for Judgment and a knowledge of the Indian Character if four fifths of his followers would not instantly abandon him. And being once undeceived with regard to his ability to defend them they would never be brought to unite with him again. I cannot however think myself authorized to employ a larger force than is sufficient to deter an attack from the Indians or to chastise them should they think proper to attempt it. It will consist of the Regular Troops above mentioned, 8 or 9 companies of Militia Infantry and three or four Troops of Dragoons. At this season of the year the Militia can leave their homes without any material inconvenience. The sole objection then to the employment of this force is on account of the additional expense. And can the pay of a few Companies for 30 or 35 days be an object worthy of consideration to the United States when they are employed to take possession of a Country to which they have a fair and just claim by the sale of which they will be so amply remunerated? The sale of the small slip adjoining the Greenville Boundary line takes place next month and unless I am very much misinformed the proceeds of it in two months from the day that the office is opened will bring more money into the public Treasury than will be sufficient to reimburse the purchase money for both the Tracts and all the incidental Expences which have occurred since. I rely upon the Candour of the Government for my justification in this affair. The Troops of Cavalry are composed principally of Gentlemen to whom the pay is no object but as the whole are not of this description I presume that no discrimination can be made. I have actually engaged but one Troop from Kentucky, but I understand that another has been formed by young Gentlemen at and in the Neighbourhood of Lexington who have done me the Honor to think that they could receive some Military information by serving under my command. It is not my intention, Sir, to accept of any compensation for my services on this occasion nor even remuneration for my Expences. The Beef and Flour which I shall be obliged to take from the Contractor will be included in the provision Abstract, but no other Article that is consumed in my family will be placed to the public account.

As soon as I received your favour of the 22nd Ultimo I laid it before Col. Boyd and the Honorable Waller Taylor & Benjamin Parke, two of the Supreme Judges of the Territory, and both Militia officers and requested their opinions in writing upon the Expediency of employing a larger force than that contemplated

by your letter. I have done myself the honor to inclose their several answers. I expect Governor Howard and General Clark daily. Governor Edwards is I hear very sick and gone to some Medicinal Spring in Louisiana. I have not heard from him since the return of the officer whom he sent up the Illinois River to demand the perpetrators of the late murders. But I have seen a young man (a connexion of the Governors) who was on the command. He informed me that the Chiefs professed a willingness to deliver up the Culprits but declared that they were not within their power having taken refuge with the Prophet. I hope to be able to march on Saturday next. But I have some fear of a deficiency on the part of the Contractor. The Government need be under no apprehension for us Sir. If the Prophet attacks us we shall beat him. I promise you at least that we shall not be surprised and that if the men will fight (of which I have not the least doubt) they shall do so when perfectly prepared. The Greek Maxim "Asphales Garaot Ameion e thrasus Statelate" which was so great a favourite with Augustus (who bye the bye was I believe inferior as a Warrior either to the little Turtle or Tecumseh) shall be ever present to my mind. And in Indian Warfare (whatever it may be in any other) it is certainly a good one.

When I received your letter of the 17th and 20th July I dispatched an Indian Messenger to bring back the Miami Chiefs who had accompanied Tecumseh to this place and who had only left it two days before. The Messenger did not overtake them until they had reached their Towns. They refused to return alledging that the letters which I pretended to have received from the President were forgeries and that they were told by white men at Vincennes, that I intended to practice this cheat upon them. I immediately prepared speeches to be sent to the different Tribes conformably to the plan mentioned in my letter of the 7th Ultimo. And I employed Mr. Dubois a French Gentleman who is well known to and much respected by the Indians to carry the one intended for the Miami. He found the Chiefs all preparing to go to Malden. With the assistance however of Messrs. Shaw and Wells he got them all together at Fort Wayne. The result of the Council discovered that the whole Tribe (including the Weas and Eel Rivers for they are all Miamis) were about equally divided in favour of the Prophet and the United States. I have the Honor to enclose a Copy of my Speech and the original Minutes of the Council as taken by Dr. Turner† at Fort Wayne. The Lapousier who makes the insolent speech is the Wea Chief who spoke in the late Council here and whom I before mentioned to you as being seduced by the Prophet. Mr. Dubois repeatedly demanded of him what land it was that he was deter-

†William Turner, born in Maryland, enlisted from Maryland and was made garrison surgeon mate July 9, 1810; surgeon of the 17th Infantry, April 7, 1813; resigned Jan. 31, 1815. *Heitman's Hist. Reg.*, etc.

mined to defend with his blood. Whether it was that which was ceded by the late Treaty or not; but he would give no direct answer. Mr. Dubois reports that all the Indians of the Wabash have been or now are on a visit to the British agent at Malden. He has been in the Indian Trade thirty years and has never known as he thinks more than one fourth as many Goods given to the Indians as they are now distributing. He examined the share of one man (not a Chief) and found that he had received an elegant Rifle, 25 pounds of Powder, 50 of lead, 3 Blankets, 3 Strouds of Cloth ten shirts and several other articles. He says that every Indian is furnished with a Gun (either Rifle or fusil) and an abundance of ammunition. A Trader of this Country was lately in the Kings stores at Malden, he saw 150 kegs of Powder (supposed to contain about 60 pounds each) and he was told that the quantity of goods for the Indian Department which had been sent over this year exceeded that of common years by £20,000 sterling. It is impossible to ascribe this profusion to any other motive than that of instigating the Indians to take up the Tom hawk. It cannot be to secure their Trade, for all the Peltries collected on the waters of the Wabash in one year if sold in the London Market would not pay the freight of the Goods which have been given to the Indians. Altho' I am decidedly of opinion that the tendency of these British measures is hostility to us, candour obliges me to inform you that from two Indians of different Tribes I have received information that the British Agent absolutely dissuaded them from going to War against the United States. One of them (a Delaware) says that he was present at the Audience given by the Agent (Elliot)* to 300 Sacs from the Mississippi. The latter informed him that they had taken up the Tom hawk against the United States at the request of the Prophet and that they come there to get Arms and Ammunition; that Elliot told them that he would supply their wants but strongly advised them to decline the meditated War.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

P. S.

Col. Boyd has not yet prepared the written opinion above men-

*Matthew Elliott was born in Ireland between 1735 and 1740, and came to America in 1761. He was a soldier in Bouquet's expedition which relieved Fort Pitt at the time of Pontiac's conspiracy in 1763. After the Indian wars he became an Indian trader, making his headquarters at Pittsburg. During the Revolution, on one of his trips to Detroit, he was arrested as an American spy. He cleared himself and in 1778 was appointed captain of the Indian Department at Detroit. He served throughout the war on the British side and when peace was established he remained in Detroit, where he obtained a city lot for his services in the war. He also obtained 3,000 acres of land near Fort Malden, or Amherstburg, and subsequently another grant of 1,000 acres. Elliott removed to his Canadian property some time before the fire of 1805, was appointed assistant agent of Indian affairs and finally superintendent of Indian affairs. He took a prominent part in the War of 1812 and died May 7, 1814. His wife was Sarah Donovan, daughter of Matthew Donovan. *Governor and Judges Journal—Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit, by Burton, 1915, page 217.*

tioned but he authorizes me to say that it is precisely the same with Judges Taylor and Parke.

The Honorable

William Eustis Esq.,
Secretary of War.

[ENCLOSURE]

**William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory,
to the Miami, Eel River and Wea Tribe of Indians.**

My Children,—You had left this place but two days, when I had received letters from your great father the President of the seventeen fires, and it was my wish that you should know what they contained, because their contents were of consequence to you. I sent after you one of your own people inviting you to return. You not only refused to do so but you insulted my messenger. You insulted me and the great Chief of the seventeen fires whom I represent. You told him that the letters which I pretended to have received were forgeries.

My Children,—This conduct of yours has grieved me much and my Anger against you was for a while very great but I have now cast it off. And I feel nothing but pity for you and anger against those who have accused you. I now speak to you in the name of your Father the President of the seventeen fires—listen to me.

My Children—My eyes are open and I am now looking towards the Wabash. I see a dark cloud hanging over it. Those who have raised it intended it for my destruction, but I will turn it upon their own heads. My Children, I hoped that you would not be injured by this cloud, you have seen it gathering you had timely notice to keep clear of it, the thunder begins to roll, take care that it does not burst upon your heads.

My Children. I now speak plainly to you. What is that great collection of people at the mouth of the Tippecanoe intended for? I am not blind my children, I can easily see what their object is, these people have boasted that they will find me asleep, but they will be deceived. My Children, do not suppose that I will be foolish enough to suffer them to go on with their preparations until they are ready to strike my people. No. I have watched their motions. I know what they wish to do, and you know it also. Listen then to what I say. I will not suffer any more strange Indians to settle on the Wabash. Those that are there and do not belong there shall disperse and go to their own Tribes. My Children, When you made the Treaty with General Wayne you promised that if you knew of any parties of Indians passing through your Country with hostile intentions towards us that you would give us notice of it and endeavor to stop them.

I now inform you that I consider all those who join the Prophet and his party as hostile and call upon you to fulfill your engagements. I have also sent to the Tribes who have any of their warriors with the Prophet to withdraw them immediately. Those who do not comply I shall consider to have let go the chain of friendship which united us.

My Children—Be wise and listen to my voice. I fear that you have got on a road that will lead you to destruction. It is not yet too late to turn back. Have pity upon your women and children. It is time that my friends should be known. I must draw a line. Those that keep me by the hand must keep on one side of it, and those that go to the Prophet on the other. My Children. Take your choice. My warriors are in motion, but they shall do you no hurt unless you force me to it. But I must have satisfaction for the murder of my people and the war-pole that has been raised on the Wabash must be taken down. My Children let me know your determination by Mr. Dubois; he will explain to you everything. Do not suffer bad advice to mislead you. Throw yourselves again into the arms of your Father, and he will receive you and nourish you.

Do not be afraid to speak your minds. Tell those people that have settled on the Wabash without your leave that the land is yours and you do not wish them there. Do not be afraid to say this. You shall be supported. My Warriors are getting ready and if it is necessary you shall see an Army of them at your backs more numerous than the leaves of the trees.

[ENCLOSURE]

Mr. Dubois' Report.

Oscemit, Puttawatomie Chief.

He did not wish what he was now going to say to be put on paper as it was rather advice to his people. He observed as the rest of the Chiefs were absent he thought it his duty to make a few remarks in behalf of his nation, saying that it appeared to him that his younger brothers on the Wabash had got on a wrong road, that the Governor had told them of it, and that it was not yet too late for them to turn back. We the Puttawatomie Chiefs have told our young men not to listen to the Prophet but notwithstanding some of them was foolish enough to hear his counsel.

Charley the Eel river Chief spoke at considerable length very favourably; but did not wish any part put on paper; only That Laprusieur the Wea Chief came forward and made a speech without consulting or knowing the opinion of the Indians.

The Little Turtle Miami Chief.

Governor William H. Harrison. Father, your speech by Mr. Dubois was communicated to us yesterday. Father, your children the Miamies of the Wabash are all glad to hear what you say, this is the sentiments of the Indians. Father you have asked us whether we are disposed to take part with the Prophet, or hold you fast by the hand. This question causes us to believe that some misunderstanding has took place between you and some of our people that has visited you lately. It appears also that you have made your intentions known to the Potawatomies respecting the Prophet; you have told the Pot's and other Indians living on the Wabash to leave him. You have told the Miamies the same thing. These are things that have surprised us. The transactions that took place between the white people and Indians at Greenville is yet fresh in our minds; at that place we told each other that we would in future be friends, doing all the good to each other and raise our children in peace and quietness. These are yet the sentiments of your children the Miamies. Father you have told us you would draw a line, that your children should stand on one side and the Prophet on the other. We the Miamies wish to be considered the same people that we were at the treaty of Greenville holding fast to that treaty that united us the Miamies and Putawatomies. Father listen to what I have to say; it is our request that you pay particular attention to it. We pray you not to bloody our ground if you can avoid it; in the first instance let the Prophet be requested in mild terms to comply with your wishes and if possible avoid spilling of blood. The land on the Wabash is ours, we have not put the Prophet there, but on the contrary we have endeavoured to stop his going there. He must be considered as setting there without our leave. Father I must again repeat; you say you will draw a line between your children and the Prophet. We are not pleased at this because we think you have no right to doubt our friendship towards you. I have not said much to you but I think I have said enough for the present occasion. My words are few but my meaning is great and I shall close by requesting that you will pay particular to what I have said. This is all I have to say. I have said it in presence of your Messenger and people of this place as also my own people.

Oscemit,

I have said that I am here alone I have come to attend to the interest of my women and children, I have thought it my duty to do so as the other Chiefs of my Nation was absent. When I heard the words of my Father. We the Potawatomies inhabiting the Lakes from Chicago round to the east are of the opinion as those of the Miamies, just delivered by The Little Turtle. Notwithstanding some of our foolish young men have killed some of the whites. We the chiefs of our nation have told our young men not to listen to any bad birds that are flying in the air, notwithstanding some of them have been led astray in not listening

to our words, and have imprudently involved themselves in difficulties.

Therefore we are determined that their faults shall not be charged to our nation. We the Putowatomies and Miamies have been friends and brothers since children. We shall continue to be so, their sentiments are ours and ours theirs. Father what we said to each other at the treaty of Greenville is fresh on our minds. We there told each other that improper conduct of individuals should not involve us in difficulties. This also must be fresh in your memories for you wrote it down and I hope it will long be remembered by both of us. I have nothing further to say.

White Loon.

You have heard what my Uncle the Little Turtle has said, and my mind is the same.

Little Turtle addressing the Miamies.

I told my people when they were going to see the Governor not to say anything respecting the land, that the treaty was made and it was a fair one. They had signed the paper which bound the sale of the lands and that nothing farther should be said on the subject. I also charged them whatever they did to have nothing to do with the Prophet, that the Prophet was an enemy of Governor Harrisons, and Governor Harrison of his; that if they formed any kind of connection with the Prophet, it would make the Governor enemies of theirs.

Silver heels the Massassissway Chief, spoke at great length, and said; that he informed his people that he conceived it greatly to the interest of his Nation, that a decisive answer should be given to their great father's speech, that he had asked for it, and that he was intitled to have it, that for himself he had always detested the Prophet and his doctrine, and that the interest of the Nation required of the Miamies, that they should have no connection with the Prophet; that in case a misunderstanding should take place between the U. States and the Prophet it is the interest of the Nation to remain neutral, and hold our father by the hand.

My Chiefs and warriors now present, I hope this will be the answer that you will say to our great fathers.

[ENCLOSURE]

**Speeches Delivered by the Different Miami Chiefs in Council
at Fort Wayne, in Answer to a Speech from William
H. Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory,
Addressed to the Miami Tribe of Indians.**

Laprusieur the Wea Chief.*

William H. Harrison Governor of Indiana Territory.

Listen to what I have to say, you wish to hear what I had to say. You tell us that we are now on a wrong road, a road that will lead us to destruction. You are deceived we are not on a

*Lapousseur. See note, page 103.

wrong road. When I was walking along, I heard you speak respecting the Shawanoe. You said we were of his party. I hold both you and the Shawanoe by the hand, but I hold him slack. You have both told me one story; that if I would adhere to you, that my people the women and children would be happy. on the choicest spot of land. We are now anxiously waiting to see which of you tells the truth. For the first time Father, your The hearts of the Miamies is good, the great spirit has put them eyes are now open. When you cast them on your children you see they are poor; they are destitute some of them, even for the necessaries of life. We want ammunition to support our women and children, and the want of those things has compelled us to undertake our present journey. Father, we have not let you go, we yet hold you by the hand, neither do we hold the hand of the Prophet with a view to injure you, therefore I now tell you that you are not correct when you supposed we joined hands with the Prophet to injure you.

Father I listened to you a few days ago, when you pointed out to me the depredations of murder that has been committed by the Indians on the Mississippi. I told you that I and my people had no wish to join in acts of that kind. I told you that we both loved our people, that it gives us pleasure when we see them standing around us, that we should deprive ourselves of this pleasure if we commence a war with each other, as a war would be the destruction of both parties. You always told me that our great father, the President of the U. States, has placed you here for good purposes, that his heart is good towards his red Children. How then does it happen that our father's heart is changed toward his red children.

Father you have called upon us to fulfill the Treaty of Greenville; in that treaty it is mentioned that we should give information if we knew of any hostile design of a foreign power against each other. I now tell you that no information from any quarter has reached our ears to injure any of your people or ours, except from yourself. You have told us that the thunder begins to roll.

Father your speech has overtaken us at this place, we have heard it, but it has not scared us, we are not afraid of what you say. We are now going on to that country which has been frequently visited by Tecumseh and we shall be able to know in the course of our journey whether he has told us lies or not; that all the Indians were of the same opinion that he is; but when we return we shall be able to tell you whether what Tecumseh has told us be true or not.

Now father you have heard what I have to say, you will hear it well, what come from me.

Father you have told me twice that you were very angry with me. I went to see you with my warriors, we were sitting close face to face, and toes to toes; you told me that the Indians on the Mississippi had struck you, and I said nothing to you.

You now tell us that you sent a messenger after us, that we had insulted the messenger, yourself, and our great father. This is twice that you have told that you were angry with us, we have looked for the cause, but can find none. Father, we the Miamies are not a people that is passionate, we are not so easily made angry, as it is supposed you are. Our hearts is as heavy as the earth and our minds are not easily irritated; we don't tell people we are angry with them for light causes; we are afraid if we did fly in a passion for no cause, we should make ourselves contemptible in the eyes of others; therefore we hope you will no more say you are angry with us, least you should make yourself contemptible to others. We have told you we would not get angry for light causes. We have our eyes on our lands on the Wabash with a strong determination to defend our rights, let them be invaded from what quarter they may; that when our best interest is invaded, we will defend them to a man, and be made mad but once.

Father now consider your children the Miamies, what they have said to you. You have now offered the war club to us, you have laid it at our feet, and told us we might pick it up if we chose. We have refused to do so, and we hope this circumstance will prove to you, that we are people of good hearts.

We hope father that you will not be angry any more with us; we will not be angry with you. This is all I have to say.

From an observation of Mr. Dubois the following expressions fell from the lips of Laprusieur.

If Governor Harrison draws a line and leaves us out, he may, but if he takes us in, it is very good. But if our lands are invaded, we will defend them to the utmost, and die with the land.

Here follow the names of the Chiefs that were in favour of Laprusieur speech.

Pucan

Big-Man (or Lagros

Negro-Legs

Osage

The one that eats stones.

Names of the persons that took these notes.

Fort Wayne,
4th September 1811.

WM. TURNER S. Mate
U. States Army.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 25th Sept. 1811.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th of August. Mine of the 18th Inst. will have informed you that I had anticipated your last instructions by the Employment of a larger Militia force than was contemplated by your favour of the 22nd Ultimo. The Regular Troops under Colonel Miller arrived here on the 19th at night. Their sick at that time very little increased from the time of their departure from Louisville—within a day or two however a considerable number have been added to the sick reports. Their complaints are intermittents of the slightest kind and Dr. Foster assures me that the greatest part of them which are on the sick report will be able to march. This was intended to have taken place on this day, but an uncommonly heavy rain which is now falling has induced me to postpone it until tomorrow.—As the Militia are entirely without tents and the saving them even one severe wetting is an object of some consequence. We shall however take up our line of march tomorrow morning at Reveillie rain or not. The Cavalry were sent off yesterday to Bosseron (20 miles in advance) where forage can be more easily procured. The 20th Inst. had been fixed by me to commence our movements and the Troops were here on that day, but it was not until yesterday that a boat load of flour arrived for the Contractor, this added to what he had on hand amounts to little more than 12000 rations, he has however more coming up the Wabash which will follow us. Our whole force will amount to about one thousand men including one hundred and forty Dragoons and 60 mounted Riflemen.

I have the satisfaction to inform you Sir that the speech which I sent to several of the Tribes by the Potowatomie Chiefs and the report of a considerable assemblage of Troops being about to be moved at this place has brought forward a deputation from the Prophet's Town full of *professions* of peace, and that I have *extorted* from them a promise to comply with our demands. But I must previously inform you of a circumstance of a very different Character which happened about twelve days ago but which has only been entirely developed since the date of my last letter. As Capt. Piatt was coming from Louisville to this place his Horses and that of another Traveller were taken from the stable on the White River 35 miles from this and the night after four others from the Bosseron settlement. The trail of the Horses from the latter place was very visible, and two white men and a

Free Negro who speaks some of the Indian Languages went immediately in pursuit of them. They crossed the Wabash and on the second day near night they came to the Indian Camp. There were but three Indians in the Camp and they soon discovered their own horses. Captain Piatts and a number more. After some conversation they agreed to give up the four horses which were taken from Bosseron. Our People then commenced their return and had gotten but a few miles when they perceived the Indians in pursuit of them; having but one gun amongst them they endeavoured to escape by flight but the two foremost Indians soon came so near as to fire. on them and the Negro would have been killed if he had not thrown himself from his horse. They had no other alternative than to abandon all the horses, even those which they rode and betake themselves to a thick swamp which luckily presented itself. They separated and after having suffered much from hunger and fatigue they all reached home.

The Hostility and the Spirit of determined aggression upon us manifested by the above transaction called for some energetic measure. And I had resolved as soon as I had erected a Work at the point contemplated on the Wabash that would admit of defence to make a demonstration towards the Prophet's Town and even to march into it unless satisfaction was made.

The apparent head of the Mission from the Prophet's Town above mentioned is the old hereditary Chief of the Kickapoo Tribe who has been deprived of his authority by the Prophet and not suffered to act as a Chief since he signed the last Treaty two years ago, but the efficient Character of the party is a War Chief of talents, entirely devoted to the Prophet. In his first speech he expressed his astonishment at seeing such warlike preparations—that it had excited great alarm—that his women and children were all in tears—that his heart and the hearts of all the Prophet's party were warm toward the United States,—that their establishment had no other object than peace and that he wanted to know what were our intentions. In my answer I declared the great reluctance with which their Father would draw the sword against his red children, but that the injuries which his own people had sustained were such that he could no longer put up with them. I recapitulated all the instances of hostility which they had manifested towards us and informed him that it was the President's positive determination to have retribution for the past and some security for the future. In the Council of yesterday I informed them that the Army would march in a day or two, that I should go up the Wabash shortly and if they were inclined to join our friends who were endeavouring to have the persons who had killed our people taken and the stolen horses returned, they might meet us on the way. He answered that the time was too short, that nothing could be done this Fall, that we must wait until the next spring and then they would get all the Indians together and

endeavour to find out who had injured us. I then informed him peremptorily that the Army would march today and that the distance they would go up the Wabash would depend entirely on the Indians themselves—that if they would not deliver up those who had murdered our people and restore the stolen property we must take on ourselves the trouble of finding them altho it might be the means of doing injury to some innocent persons. A Potowatomie war Chief whom I had employed to take one of my speeches into the Indian Country at that moment arrived. And I seized the occasion of telling the Kickapoo that that man knew of the hostile intentions of the Prophet's party and was present (the Kickapoo himself being also present) when the speech from the British Agent was delivered to the Prophet telling him "that the time had arrived for them to take up Arms." But notwithstanding we had such full evidence of their bad designs against us we would again receive them as our children upon their compliance with our just demands. I gave until this morning to consider of what I had said. "He wanted no time—he could answer then—every thing that I wished should be complied with as far as is possible. The stolen horses should be restored—he did not know where the murderers were but would endeavour to find them—he would go up to his Town, do what he could to satisfy me and return to meet me. The hour for the closing the mail is so near that I have only to add

that I am with greatest consideration Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

I have not yet had an interview with the Potowatomie Chief. He declines saying any thing until Winimac's arrival which is every moment expected.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Camp on the Wabash 65 Miles from
Vincennes, October 6th 1811.

Sir,

I have the Honor to inform you of the arrival of the Troops under my command at this place on the 2nd inst. The regular Troops stood the march surprisingly well. There are a good many sick but most of them of very slight complaints and there is not an Individual who can be called ill. I have reconnoitred the Country nearly to the boundary line and have fixed upon this as the most

eligible situation for a Fort.* The timber is now preparing and it will be finished with all possible dispatch. We have as yet seen no Indians, those excepted who were at Vincennes previously to the Commencement of our March. I expect a deputation from the Prophet's Town in five or six days, if I do not I shall send one to him and make a movement with the Troops in that direction. Those scoundrels have been again plundering our Citizens. They took eight horses from a detached settlement in the Illinois Territory about 30 miles above Vincennes nine or ten days ago in open day light. I sincerely wish that my instructions were such as to authorise me to march up immediately to the Prophet's Town. The Troops which I command are a fine body of men and the proportion of Regulars, Irregulars, Infantry and Dragoons, such as I could wish it. I have reason to doubt the issue of a contest with the savages and I am much deceived if the greater part of both officers and men are not desirous of coming in contact with them. I bear constantly in mind your injunctions on the subject of the return of the 4th Regiment to Pittsburg this Winter, I fear however that the thing is impracticable. Both men and officers (the Colonel excepted) are extremely desirous to winter in this Territory, and if they have not time to reach Pittsburg before the freezing of the Ohio it certainly would be advisable, rather than to occupy any immediate point upon the Ohio where they could do no manner of service. This Regiment is in great want of clothing. It arrived at Newport shortly after the departure of the Regiment from thence. Col. Boyd consulted me upon the subject of the orders to be given respecting it and I recommended that it should be sent to the mouth of the Wabash because the wants of the men were represented to be so great as to make it a considerable object to get the clothing as soon as possible even if their ascent of the Ohio were certain. I shall dispatch the 4th Regiment as soon as I can make any satisfactory arrangements with the Indians. But if any change of circumstances should render it less necessary at the point to which it was originally destined I am persuaded that its being placed in winter quarters here would be greatly beneficial to the public service. I beg you however to believe, Sir, that I shall endeavour to the utmost of my power to execute your intentions without suffering my own views and opinions to have any influence in producing a necessity for deviating from those which you have or may do me the Honor to communicate.

With perfect Respect, I have the Honor to be

Your Humble Servant,

The Honorable

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

William Eustis Esq.,

Secretary of War.

*Fort Harrison.



William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Camp Battle dis Illinois,
13th October 1811.

Sir,

Your letter of the 18th Ultimo I had the Honor to receive yesterday. My views have hitherto been limited to the erection of the Fort which we are now building and to a march by way of feint in the direction of the Prophet's Town as high perhaps as the Vermillion River. But the powers given me in your last letter and circumstances which have occurred here at the very moment on which it was received call for measures of a more energetic kind. I had always supposed that the Prophet was a rash and presumptuous man but he has exceeded my expectations. He has not contented himself with throwing the Gauntlet but has absolutely commenced the war. His parties were in our neighbourhood for the first time on the night of the 10th inst., our Centinels were fired on and one of the best men of the 4th U. States Regiment badly tho' not mortally wounded. The Army was immediately turned out and formed in excellent order in a very few minutes. Patrols were dispatched in every direction but the darkness was such that pursuit of the enemy was impracticable—other alarms took place in the course of the night probably without good cause, but the Troops manifested an alertness in taking their positions which was highly gratifying to me. Previously to my leaving Vincennes I had sent to the Delaware Towns to request some of their Chiefs to meet me upon the march that I might employ them in missions to the several Tribes which have a part of their warriors with the Prophet. All the Chiefs of this faithful Tribe that were able to march set out from their Towns on the 6th Inst. They had proceeded but a few miles when they were met by a deputation from the Prophet's Town requiring from the Tribe a Categorical answer to the question "Whether they would or would not join them in the war against the United States—that they had taken up the Tom hawk and that they would lay it down only with their lives. They had however positive assurances of victory and when they had beaten the Americans, those Tribes who refused to join them would have cause to repent it." The Delaware Chiefs immediately dispatched the Interpreter Mr. Connor and four of their men to inform me of this circumstance and that they had determined to go immediately to the Prophet's Town to endeavour to divert him from his purpose, that they would be with me in a few days and communicate the result of their mission. And that if they were success-

ful in their endeavours to prevent the Prophet from striking us they would abandon him to his fate." From this statement of facts, Sir, you will no doubt be of opinion with me that the return of the Troops under my command without effecting the dispersion or humiliation of the Prophet's Party would be attended with the most fatal consequences. If he is thus presumptuous upon our advance our return without chastising him or greatly alarming his fears and those of his followers would give him an eclat that would increase his followers and we would have to wage through the winter a defensive war which would greatly distress our Frontiers. With this conviction thoroughly impressed upon my mind it is with the greatest mortification I have to observe that my advance to the Prophet's Town depends upon circumstances which are entirely without my control. The supply of provisions on hand is by no means sufficient and the means of land transportation for it altogether inadequate. We have hitherto depended upon water transportation but it is impossible to rely upon it in our advance from this. From the winding course of the river and the nature of the ground near it the ascending boats cannot be protected by the Army. Defending them by detachments is equally impracticable because I could not make them sufficiently large without weakening my main body so as to expose it to certain defeat. As soon as I received your letter therefore I directed the Contractor to send down to Vincennes for five or six wagons and upon the arrival of these must depend in a great measure the practicability of our advance. The Fort is in such forwardness as to enable me to leave it in three days but it is necessary that we should wait for the waggon. The necessity of this delay suggested the idea of obtaining a reinforcement. I have certainly the highest opinion of the bravery of the Troops under my command and the composition of this little army is entirely to my mind, but with regard to actual service they are altogether raw and inexperienced. The Militia are the best I ever saw and Col. Boyd's Regiment is a fine body of men. But like all men who are about to engage a strange and untried enemy many of the privates have imbibed such ideas of Indian address and ferocity that it was found a matter of some difficulty to keep the sentinels to their posts the night after the alarm. Two of the Delawares who are now in camp speak good English and before I was aware of it an opinion had been pretty generally imbibed from them amongst the men and by most of the officers that our force was too small to attack the Prophet with success. From the return which is herewith enclosed you will observe that our effectives are but little above nine hundred. From these must be deducted a small garrison for the Fort and perhaps twelve or fifteen more sick than the report recognizes. From all the information which I have received I cannot estimate the Prophet's force at less than 600 men. Whatever precautions I may use it will be in his power to attack us when and where he pleases and

precipitate the whole of his force upon our weakest point. With raw Troops I found upon my march hither that it was impossible to preserve that order and precision in our movements which is so desirable and necessary. The maneuvers which I have adopted for forming an order of Battle from the order of march altho extremely simple the men are not sufficiently expert in performing altho' every opportunity has been embraced of practicing it. A panic or confusion from an attack at that particular moment might be fatal. From Mr. Connor I learn that all the Delawares were impressed with a belief that the Prophet would attack us and that he and his followers were confident of success. I know not from whence this confidence can be derived, it is certain that it was not felt four weeks ago. I cannot learn that he has received any accession of strength—And the ridiculous and superstitious pranks* which he is practicing inspire his followers with a belief in his supernatural powers can impose upon them only. Whatever may be the cause of this confidence the probability of its existence is sufficient to inspire caution. I do believe most sincerely that the Troops I have now with me are equal to the task of beating all the force the prophet can muster altho admitting him to have 600. The relative proportion is less favourable to us than it has ever been in any general action with the Indians. But I am not so ambitious of military fame as to subject the Troops under my command to any unnecessary hazard to obtain it. A few companies more would make success entirely unequivocal. I have the Honor to inclose to you the result of a Council which I have held with my superior officers on the occasion. With their opinion I entirely coincide. I have sent for four Companies. Three only were contemplated by me but to secure three it was necessary to send for four. I shall not wait for them but move with cautious steps for twenty five or thirty miles higher up so that we shall not have but forty or forty five miles to march when the reinforcement comes up. I have directed them to come on mounted. In the meantime my own and the exertions of my officers shall be used to inspire the men with confidence in themselves and contempt for the Enemy.

I would have believed that the message which was sent by the Prophet was an empty boast if his parties had not been sent to fire on our sentinels. But however unsuccessful our advance may have been in making a favourable impression upon the prophet it is certain that it has made such a one on the Weas and Miamis. The Chiefs of the former who have just returned from Malden are now collecting their women and children (who had fled on our approach) at their village about two miles from us. The Miami Chiefs are also on their way to visit me, and the Weas say that the Wyandots have opened the eyes of them all and that they will never again listen to the Prophet.

*See note, page 135.

I am extremely glad that the return of Col. Boyd's Regiment to Pittsburg may be dispensed with it will certainly be of considerable service here and the season will be so far advanced before they can commence their voyage as to have scarcely a probability of their being able to get there, and it would be exceeding harrassing to the men. This Regiment is not more sickly than when I wrote to you last week altho' the weather has been uncommonly warm and consequently unfavourable. Two men have indeed died in Camp within this week and one within a few hours after my last letter was written but he was so well in the morning as to be able to walk out and killed himself by eating heartily of fried liver.

I have the Honor to enclose to you herewith a letter from Dr. Foster; he says that his private affairs so imperiously require his presence that unless he can get a furlough he must resign. I think him so valuable an officer that he ought if possible to be kept in service. His presence can be dispensed with for you may rest assured that the autumnal frosts will restore his Regiment to perfect health, and respectable medical men can be procured here if the Regiment should remain with us. Lt. Colonel Miller has been very much indisposed but is better. He will not however I fear be able to march with us, a circumstance infinitely to be regretted. For the experience he has had I have known no better officer and he is so much beloved by the officers and men of the 4th Regiment that I am persuaded that they would follow him to the Devil. Col. Boyd commands all the Infantry as a Brigadier. There is not an officer of the regular troops (Col. Miller excepted) who cannot eat his rations as heartily as he ever could. The two that were left at Vincennes (one with an accidental hurt) are well and are coming up.

I have the Honor to be with the Greatest Respect, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The Hon'ble William Eustis Esq.,
Secretary of War.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Camp Battelle Des Illinois, 28th Oct. 1811.

Sir,

The want of provisions and waiting to know the result of the Delaware Mission to the Prophet has detained me here until this time. The Fort has also taken much more work than I had expected and the great deficiency of axes and the bad quality of those which we had has protracted the finishing it to double the

time that it would have taken otherwise. It is now however completed and is a very handsome and strong work. The baggage is now loading and the General will be beaten as soon as a boat load of flour which can at this moment be but a few miles from us makes its appearance. The Delaware Chiefs arrived in camp yesterday and gave an account of their efforts to induce the Prophet to lay aside his hostile designs in presence of all the Officers. "They were badly received ill treated and insulted and finally dismissed with the most contemptuous remarks upon them and us." The party which fired upon our sentinels arrived at the Town when the Delawares were there. They were Shawanoes and the Prophet's nearest friends. Nothing now remains but to chasten him and he shall certainly get it. One of the Companies which I have ordered on will join us today and another tomorrow. I cannot account for the conduct of the Prophet upon any rational principle. Many of the Potawatomies have left him—from the best accounts I can get he has not more than 450 men. But there are desperadoes wound up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by his infernal arts. The Delawares left him practising his magic rites and performing their war dances day and night. I am still in hopes that the Kickapoos will abandon him on our approach. The sick amongst the Militia have greatly increased since the last report but the regular Troops which are on the sick report are generally better. I am happy to inform you that the whole of the Troops are in fine spirits and eager to come in contact with the Enemy. I have used every exertion in my power to perfect them in the manoeuvres which they are to perform. I have exercised them myself almost daily and their progress has been such that I do not hesitate to pronounce them as perfect as Gen. Wayne's Army was on the day of his victory over the Indians. I promise you Sir that all the objects intended by the Expedition shall be effected. Wells account of the manner in which the murders in the Illinois Territory were perpetrated is absolutely false. The truth is that they were directed by the Prophet for the purpose of forcing the Indians of the Illinois River to unite with him. He has determined to commit to the flames the first of our men whom he can take Prisoners.

I have the Honor to enclose herewith a return of the Troops under my Command.

I am with sincere Respect, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

P. S.

The Miami Chiefs have just arrived. They are entirely humbled.

The Hon'ble William Eustis Esq.,
Secretary of War.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Camp near the Vermilion River,
Nov. 2nd 1811.

Sir,

I arrived at this place with the Troops under my Command last evening. I crossed the Wabash about ten miles below this and have been this day employed in the erection of a small block house upon the bank of the Wabash for the protection of the provisions and boats which I shall be obliged to leave here as the best and most direct road to the prophet's Town passes so much to the northward of the River that the boats can be no longer protected in ascending. Indeed I was not able to cover them as completely as I could have wished in the ascent to this place. And I was in constant apprehension of their being attacked when we were not in a situation to defend them. I was congratulating myself on their safe arrival when a letter from Col. Miller (whose indisposition was such as to oblige me to leave him at the new Fort) announced the unfortunate intelligence of an attack upon a boat loaded with corn which was ascending the River from the Fort to this place. It was fired on four miles above the Fort and one man killed. The crew immediately returned to the Fort. This circumstance has caused me much apprehension for the settlements below. I have therefore sent off a small detachment of mounted Riflemen to patrol round the settlement and have directed the senior Militia officer at Vincennes to put every man upon the alert and to call out one or two companies should he think it necessary. The Country round me has been examined for a considerable distance. Some signs of Indian parties passing southwardly have been discovered, but in the attempt to trace them up the best woodsmen I have were baffled.

I am now from the best information I can get about 40 or 45 miles from the Prophet's Town. The Country is generally open and there are as I understand a few places only where we can be advantageously attacked by the enemy. This information shall not however lull my vigilance. We march tomorrow morning and shall reach one of the most difficult passes (called pine Creek) on the 4th Inst., the anniversary of General St. Clair's defeat. Should we be attacked on that day I hope to alter the Color with which it has been marked in our calendar for the last twenty years. I have been joined by two out of the four Companies of mounted Riflemen which I ordered on. There is no probability of the others coming up. The spy which I sent to the Prophet's Town has not returned and I very much fear that he

has fallen a victim to his confidence in the friendship of the Indians for him.

Captain Wentworth has sent in his resignation through Col. Boyd. I was consulted on the occasion and gave my sanction to the measure because eleven out of twelve of his brother officers expressed an opinion of his being entirely unfit for the service. I thought it best however to order him to take the immediate command of the new Garrison as the extreme low state of Col. Miller's health made it necessary that there should be another officer. I remained at the Garrison a few hours after the march of the Army and the Captain took that opportunity to request my permission to leave the Fort and return to Vincennes. I pointed out the necessity of his staying and referred him to Col. Miller who was so weak as to be unable to walk without the assistance of a stick. The Colonel's answer was that he hoped I would permit him to go as he had rather spare the Captain than the meanest soldier in the Garrison. I mention this in the hope that the Captain's pay and Emoluments may cease on the 29th Ultimo the day he left the Fort.

It was my intention to have named the Fort after one of the Heads of the Department who performs his duties not more advantageously to the public interests than satisfactorily to those who have the Honor to receive their orders from him, but recollecting that it was a temporary work and would be only wanted for a few years it occurred to me that I should do injury where I meant to do honor. At the request of my Officers therefore I gave them permission to name the Work and they were pleased to call it Fort Harrison.

I have the Honor to be with great respect, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The Honorable

William Eustis,

Secretary of War.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Head Quarters
Near the Prophet's Town
Nov. 8th 1811.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that the dawn of yesterday* terminated an action between the Troops under my Command and the whole of the Prophet's force, their precipitate retreat leaving a number of the warriors dead on the field and the subsequent abandonment of their Town (which was partially fortified) attest for us a complete and decisive victory. It has however been dearly purchased. A number of brave and valuable men have fallen victims to their zeal for their country's service. The behavior of both regular and Militia Troops was such as would have done honor to Veterans. I arrived at my present position (a mile from the Town) on the evening of the sixth Instant. A correspondence was immediately opened with the Prophet and there was every appearance of a successful termination of the expedition without blood shed. Indeed there was an agreement for a suspension of hostilities until a further communication should take place on the next day. Contrary however to this engagement he attacked me at half past four o'clock in the morning, so suddenly that the Indians were on the Camp before many of the men could get out of their Tents. A little confusion for a short time prevailed, but aided by the great exertions of the officers I was soon enabled to form the men in order. The Companies which were hard pressed were supported. Several successful charges made and about day light the enemy were finally put to flight after having penetrated to and killed men in the very center of our camp. Our killed and wounded amount to 179, of these 42 are now dead and seven or eight more will certainly die. (I believe that the Prophet's force is so entirely routed that he will not be able to collect a sufficient number to harrass us on our return. But should this be the case it may be in his power, encumbered as we are with the wounded to do us considerable injury. We are moreover destitute of every article of provision excepting the corn (which we have taken) and about four days

*John Tipton was an ensign in a company of Indiana militia under command of Capt. Spier Spencer and kept a journal of the campaign which is printed in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 2, pages 170-184, and also in *Readings in Indiana History*, 1914, pages 111-119. During the battle the company lost all of its officers and Tipton took command. After this he reached the rank of brigadier-general of militia. He became very prominent in the early history of Indiana and in 1831 was elected U. S. senator from Indiana. He owned a great deal of land in the Northwest Territory and the City of Columbus was built on his property. It was called Tiptonia, for a time, in his honor. He was born in Servier County, Tenn., Aug. 14, 1786, and died in Logansport, Ind., April 5, 1830. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*.

issue of flour at the short allowance of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pound per diem. Indeed the Army have drawn no more than this for three weeks and all our beef cattle broke from us the night of the action and were dispersed and driven off by the Indians. You may rest assured Sir that I shall make every exertion in my power to conduct the Troops in safety to the settlements. I have not been able to ascertain the number of Indians in the action, it must however have been considerable. The principal chief of these Potawatomies who have joined the Prophet is wounded and in our possession. I have taken care of him and shall send him back to his Tribe. At a more leisure moment I shall do myself the honor to transmit a more particular account of the action and of our previous movements and am with the highest respect, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The Honorable
William Eustis,
Secretary of War.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 18th Nov. 1811.

Sir,

In my letter of the 8th Instant I did myself the Honor to communicate the result of an action between the Troops under my command and the confederation of Indians under the control of the Shawanoe Prophet. I had previously informed you in a letter of the 2nd Instant of my proceedings previously to my arrival at the Vermilion River where I had erected a block house for the protection of the boats which I was obliged to leave and as a depositary for our heavy baggage and such part of our provisions as we were unable to transport in waggons. On the morning of the 3rd inst., I commenced my march from the block house. The Wabash above this turning considerably to the Eastward I was obliged in order to avoid the broken and woody country which borders upon it to change my course to the westward of north to gain the prairies which lie to the back of those woods. At the end of one days march I was enabled to take the proper direction (N. E.) which brought me on the evening of the 5th to a small creek at about eleven miles from the Prophet's Town. I had on the preceding day avoided the dangerous pass of Pine Creek by circling a few miles to the left where the Troops and wagons were crossed with expedition and

safety. Our route on the 6th for about six miles lay through prairies separated by small points of woods.

My order of march hitherto had been similar to that used by General Wayne—that is, the Infantry were in two columns of files on either side of the road and the mounted Rifle men and Cavalry in Front in the rear and on the flanks. Where the ground was unfavourable for the action of Cavalry they were placed in the rear, but where it was otherwise they were made to exchange positions with one of the mounted Rifle Corps. Understanding that the last four miles were open woods and the probability being greater that we should be attacked in front than on either flank, I halted at that distance from the Town and formed the Army in order of battle. The United States Infantry placed in the center, two Companies of Militia Infantry and one of Mounted Riflemen on each flank formed the front line. In the rear of this line was placed the baggage drawn up as compactly as possible and immediately behind it a reserve of three Companies of Militia Infantry. The Cavalry formed a second line at the distance of three hundred yards in the rear of the front line and a Company of Mounted Riflemen the advanced guard at that distance in front. To facilitate the march the whole were then broken off in short columns of Companies, a situation the most favorable for forming in order of battle with facility and precision. Our march was slow and cautious and much delayed by the examination of every place which seemed calculated for an ambuscade. Indeed the ground was for some time so unfavorable that I was obliged to change the position of the several Corps three times in the distance of a mile. At half past two o'clock we passed a small Creek at the distance of one mile and a half from the Town, and entered an open wood when the army was halted and again drawn up in order of battle. During the whole of the last days march parties of Indians were constantly about us and every effort was made by the Interpreter to speak to them but in vain. New attempts of the kind were now made but proving equally ineffectual a Capt. Dubois of the Spies and Guides offering to go with a Flag to the Town I dispatched him with an Interpreter to request a conference with the Prophet. In a few moments a message was sent by Capt. Dubois to inform me that in his attempt to advance the Indians appeared on both his flanks and altho he had spoken to them in the most friendly manner they refused to answer but beckoned to him to forward and constantly endeavoured to cut him off from the Army. Upon this information I recalled the Capt. and determined to encamp for the night and take some other measure for opening a conference with the Prophet. Whilst I was engaged in tracing the lines for the encampment Major Daveiss who commanded the Dragoons came to inform me that he had penetrated to the Indian fields that the ground was entirely open and favorable, that the

Indians in front had manifested nothing but hostility and had answered every attempt to bring them to a parley with contempt and insolence. I was immediately advised by all the Officers around me to move forward. A similar wish indeed pervaded all the army. It was drawn up in excellent order and every man appeared eager to decide the contest immediately. Being informed that a good encampment might be had upon the Wabash I yielded to what appeared the general wish and directed the Troops to advance, taking care however to place the interpreter in Front with directions to invite a conference with any Indians they might meet with. We had not advanced above four hundred yards when I was informed that three Indians had approached the advanced Guard and had expressed a wish to speak to me. I found upon their arrival that one of them was a man in great estimation with the Prophet. He informed me that the Chiefs were much surprised at my advancing upon them so rapidly, that they were given to understand by the Delawares and Miamies whom I had sent to them a few days before that I would not advance to their Town until I had received an answer to my demands made through them. That the answer had been dispatched by the Potawatomie Chief Winemac who had accompanied the Miamies and Delawares on their return. That they had left the Prophet's Town two days before with a design to meet me but had unfortunately taken the road on the south side of the Wabash. I answered that I had no intention of attacking them until I discovered that they would not comply with the demands which I had made. That I would go on and encamp at the Wabash and in the morning would have an interview with the Prophet and his Chiefs and explain to them the determination of the President. That in the mean time no hostilities should be committed. He seemed much pleased with this and promised that it should be observed on their part. I then resumed my march. We struck the cultivated grounds about five hundred yards below the Town but as these extended to the bank of the Wabash there was no possibility of getting an encampment which was provided with both wood and water. My Guides and Interpreters being still with the advanced Guard and taking the direction of the Town the Army followed and had advanced within about 150 yards when 50 or 60 Indians sallied out and with loud exclamations called to the Cavalry and to the Militia Infantry which were on our right flank to halt. I immediately advanced to the Front caused the army to halt and directed an Interpreter to request some of the Chiefs to come to me. In a few moments the man who had been with me before made his appearance. I informed him that my object for the present was to procure a good piece of ground to incamp on where we could get wood and water. He informed me that there was a Creek to the Northwest which he thought would suit our purpose. I immediately dispatched two officers to examine it and they reported that the

situation was excellent. I then took leave of the Chief and a mutual promise was again made for suspension of hostilities until we could have an interview on the following day. I found the ground destined for the encampment not altogether such as I could wish it. It was indeed admirably calculated for the encampment of Regular Troops that were opposed to Regulars but it afforded great facility to the approach of Savages. It was a piece of dry Oak Land rising about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in Front (towards the Indian Town) and nearly twice that height above a similar prairie in the rear, through which and near to the bank ran a small stream clothed with willows and other brush wood. Towards the left flank this bench of high land widened considerably but became gradually narrower in the opposite direction and at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank terminated in an abrupt point. The two columns of Infantry occupied the front and rear of this ground at the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from each other on the left and something more than half that distance on the right flank. These flanks were filled up, the first by two Companies of Mounted Riflemen amounting to about one hundred and twenty men under the command of Major General Wells of the Kentucky Militia who served as a Major the other by Spencers Company of Mounted Riflemen which amounted to eighty men. The front line was composed of one Battalion of United States Infantry under the command of Major Floyd, flanked on the right by two Companies of Militia and on the left by one Company. The rear line was composed of a Battalion of United States Troops under the command of Capt. Baen acting as Major and four Companies of Militia Infantry under Lieut. Col. Decker. The Regular Troops of this line joined the mounted Riflemen under Gen. Wells on the left flank and Col. Deckers battalion formed an angle with Spencers Company on the left.

Two Troops of Dragoons amounting to in the aggregate about sixty men were encamped in the rear of the left Flank and Capt. Parkers Troops which was larger than the other two in the rear of the front line. Our order of encampment varied little from that above described excepting when some peculiarity of the ground made it necessary. For a night attack the order of encampment was the order of battle and each man slept immediately opposite to his post in the line. In the formation of my Troops I used a single rank or what is called Indian file, because in Indian Warfare where there is no shock to resist one rank is nearly as good as two and in that kind of warfare the extension of line is a matter of the first importance. Raw Troops also manoeuvred with much more facility in single than in double ranks. It was my constant custom to assemble all the field officers at my Tent every evening by signal to give them the watch word and their instructions for the night. Those given

for the night of the 6th were that each Corps which formed a part of the exterior line of the encampment should hold its own ground until relieved. The Dragoons were directed to parade dismounted in case of a night attack with their pistols in their belts and to act as a Corps de reserve. The Camp was defended by two Captains Guards consisting each of four non commissioned officers and 42 privates and two subalterns guards of twenty non commissioned officers and privates. The whole under the command of a field officer of the day. The Troops were regularly called up an hour before day and made to continue under arms until it was quite light. On the morning of the 7th I had risen at a quarter after 4 o'clock and the signal for calling out the men would have been given in two minutes when the attack commenced. It began on our left flank but a single gun was fired by the centinals or by the guard in that direction which made not the least resistance but abandoned their officer and fled into Camp, and the first notice which the Troops of that flank had of the danger was from the yells of the Savages within a short distance of the line, but even under those circumstances the men were not wanting to themselves or to the occasion. Such of them as were awake or were easily awakened seized their arms and took their stations, others which were more tardy had to contend with the enemy in the doors of their tents. The storm first fell upon Capt. Barton's Company of the 4th U. S. Regiment and Capt. Geiger's Company of Mounted Riflemen which formed the left angle of the rear line. The fire upon these was excessively severe and they suffered considerably before relief could be brought to them. Some few Indians passed into the encampment near the angle and one or two penetrated to some distance before they were killed. I believe all the other companies were under arms and tolerably formed before they were fired on. The morning was dark and cloudy, our fires afforded a partial light which if it gave us some opportunity of taking our positions was still more advantageous to the enemy affording them the means of taking a surer aim. They were therefore extinguished as soon as possible. Under all these discouraging circumstances the Troops (nineteen twentieths of whom had never been in action before) behaved in a manner that can never be too much applauded. They took their places without noise and with less confusion than could have been expected from Veterans placed in a similar situation. As soon as I could mount my Horse I rode to the Angle that was attacked. I found that Bartons Company had suffered severely and the left of Geigers entirely broken. I immediately ordered Cooks Company and the late Capt. Wentworths under Lieut. Peters be brought up from the center of the rear line where the ground was much more defensible and formed a cross the angle in support of Bartons and Geigers. My attention was there engaged by a heavy firing upon the left of the front line where were stationed the small company of U. S. Rifle-

men (then however armed with muskets) and the Companies of Baen, Snelling and Prescott of the 4th Regiment I found Major Daveiss forming the Dragoons in the rear of those Companies and understanding that the heaviest part of the enemies' fire proceeded from some trees about fifteen or twenty paces in front of those Companies I directed the Major to dislodge them with a part of the Dragoons. Unfortunately the Majors Gallantry determined him to execute the Order with a smaller force than was sufficient which enabled the enemy to avoid him in front and attack his flanks. The Major was mortally wounded and his party driven back. The Indians were however immediately and gallantly dislodged from their advantageous position by Capt. Snelling at the head of his Company. In the course of a few minutes after the commencement of the attack the fire extended along the left flank the whole of the front the right flank and part of the rear line. Upon Spencers mounted Riflemen and the right of Warwicks Company which was posted on the right of the rear line it was excessively severe. Capt. Spencer and his first and second Lieutenants were killed and Capt. Warwick mortally wounded. Those Companies however still bravely maintained their posts, but Spencers had suffered so severely and having originally too much ground to occupy I reinforced them with Robbs Company of Riflemen which had been driven or by mistake ordered from their position on the left flank towards the center of the Camp and filled the vacancy that had been occupied by Robb with Prescotts Company of the 4th U. S. Regiment. My great object was to keep the lines entire to prevent the enemy from breaking into the Camp until daylight should enable me to make a general and effectual change. With this view I had reinforced every part of the line that had suffered much and as soon as the approach of morning discovered itself I withdrew from the front line Snellings, Poseys (under Lieut. Albright) and Scotts and from the rear line Wilsons Companies and drew them up upon the left flank and at the same time I ordered Cooks and Baens Companies the former from the rear and the latter from the front line to reinforce the right flank foreseeing that at these points the enemy would make their last efforts. Major Wells who commanded on the left flank not knowing my intentions precisely had taken the command of these Companies and charged the enemy before. I had formed the body of Dragoons with which I meant to support the Infantry a small detachment of those were however ready and proved amply sufficient for the purpose. The Indians were driven by the Infantry at the point of the Bayonet and the Dragoons pursued and forced them into a marsh where they could not be followed. Capt. Cook and Lieut. Larabee had agreeably to my Order marched their Companies to the right flank had formed them under the fire of the enemy and being then joined by the Riflemen of that flank had charged the Indians killed a number and put the rest to a precipitate

flight. A favorable opportunity was here offered to pursue the enemy with Dragoons but being engaged at that time on the other flank I did not observe it until it was too late.

I have thus Sir given you the particulars of an action which was certainly maintained with the greatest obstinacy and perseverance by both parties. The Indians manifested a ferocity uncommon even with them—to their savage fury our Troops opposed that cool and deliberate valour which is characteristic of the Christian Soldier.

The more pleasing part of my duty (that of naming to you the Corps and Individuals who particularly distinguished themselves) is yet to be performed. There is however considerable difficulty in it. Where merit was so common it is almost impossible to discriminate.

The whole of the Infantry formed a small Brigade under the immediate Orders of Col. Boyd. The Colonel throughout the action manifested equal zeal and bravery in carrying into execution my orders, in keeping the men to their posts and exhorting them to fight with valour. His Brigade Major Clark and his Aid de Camp George Croghan Esq. were also very serviceably employed. Col. Joseph Bartholomew a very valuable officer commanded under Col. Boyd the Militia Infantry. He was wounded early in the action and his services lost to me. Major G. R. C. Floyd the senior officer of the 4th U. S. Regiment commanded immediately the Battalion of that Regiment which was in the Front line; his conduct during the action was entirely to my satisfaction. Lieut Col. Decker who commanded the Battalion of Militia on the right of the rear line preserved his command in good order. He was however but partially attacked. I have before mentioned to you that Major General Wells of the 4th Division of Kentucky Militia acted under my command as a Major at the Head of two Companies of Mounted Volunteers the General maintained the fame which he had already acquired in almost every campaign and in almost every battle which has been fought with the Indians since the settlement of Kentucky. Of the several Corps the 4th U. S. Regiment and the two small companies attached to it were certainly the most conspicuous for undaunted valour. The Companies commanded by Captain Cook, Snelling and Barton, Lieutenants Larabee, Peters and Hawkins were placed in situations where they could render more service and encounter more danger, and those officers eminently distinguished themselves. Captains Prescott and Brown performed their duty also entirely to my satisfaction as did Posey's Company of the 7th Regiment headed by Lieut. Albright. In short Sir they supported the fame of American Regulars and I have never heard that a single individual was found out of the line of his duty. Several of the Militia Companies were in no wise inferior to the Regulars. Spencers, Geigers and Warwicks maintained their posts amidst a monstrous carnage. As indeed

did Robbs after it was posted on the left flank. Its loss of men (17 killed and wounded) and keeping its ground is sufficient evidence of its firmness. Wilsons and Scotts Companies charged with the Regular Troops and proved themselves worthy of doing so. Norris's company also behaved well. Hargroves and Welkins Company were placed in a situation where they had no opportunity of distinguishing themselves or I am satisfied they would have done it. This was the case with the squadron of Dragoons also. After Major Daveiss had received his wound, knowing it to be mortal I promoted Captain Parke to the Majority than whom there is no better officer.

My two aids de Camp Majors Hurst and Taylor with Lieut. Adams of the 4th Regiment the adjutant of the Troops afforded me the most essential aid as well in the action as throughout the campaign.

The arrangements of Capt. Piatt in the Quarter Masters department were highly judicious and his exertions on all occasions particularly in bringing off the wounded deserve my warmest thanks. But in giving merited praise to the living let me not forget the gallant dead. Col. Abraham Owen* commandant of the 18th Kentucky Regiment joined me a few days before the action as a private in Capt. Geigers Company. He accepted the appointment of Volunteer aid de Camp to me. He fell early in the action. The Representatives of his State will inform you that she possessed not a better citizen nor a braver man. Major J. D. Daveiss was known as an able Lawyer and a great Orator. He joined me as a private Volunteer and on the recommendation of the officers of that Corps was appointed to command the 3 Troops of Dragoons. His conduct in that capacity justified their choice. Never was there an officer possessed of more ardour and zeal to discharge his duties with propriety and never one who would have encountered greater danger to purchase military fame. Captain Baen of the 4th U. S. Regiment was killed early in the action. He was unquestionable a good officer and valiant soldier. Captains Spencer, Warwick and Lieutenants McMahon and Berry were all my particular friends. I have ever had the utmost confidence in their valour and I was not deceived. Spencer was wounded in the head, he exhorted his men to fight valiantly, he was shot through both thighs and fell still continuing to encourage them, he was raised up and received a ball through his body which put an immediate end to his existence. Warwick was shot immediately through the body; being taken to

*Col. Abraham Owen was born in Virginia in 1769 and migrated to Kentucky in 1785. He was in Wilkinson's campaign in the summer of 1791 upon the White and Wabash Rivers. He was in St. Clair's defeat Nov. 4, 1791, being wounded at that engagement. He was in the expedition led by Hardin to the White River and took part in the action which routed the Indians from their hunting camps. He was a member of the legislature of Kentucky and in 1799 was chosen a member of the Constitutional Convention. Shortly before his death he was a member of the state senate. *Filson Club, No. 15, page 64.*

the surgery to be dressed as soon as it was over ; being a man of great bodily vigor and still able to walk, he insisted upon going back to head his Company although it was evident that he had but a few hours to live.

All these Gentlemen Sir, Capt. Baen excepted, have left wives and five of them large families of children. This is the case too with many of the privates among the Militia who fell in the action or who have died since of their wounds. Will the bounty of their Country be withheld from their helpless Orphans, many of whom will be in the most destitute condition and perhaps want even the necessaries of life. With respect to the number of Indians that were engaged against us I am possessed of no data by which I can form a correct statement. It must however have been considerable and perhaps not much inferior to our own, which deducting the Dragoons who were unable to do much service was very little above seven hundred non commissioned officers and privates. I am convinced there were at least six hundred. The Prophet had three weeks before four hundred and fifty of his own proper followers. I am induced to believe that he was joined by a number of the lawless vagabonds who live on the Illinois River as large trails were seen coming from that direction. Indeed I shall not be surprised to find that some of those who professed the warmest friendship for us were arrayed against us—tis certain that one of their description came out from the Town and spoke to me the night before the action. The Potawatemie Chief whom I mentioned to have been wounded and taken prisoner in my letter of the 8th Instant I left in the battle grounds, after having all the care of him in my power. I requested him to inform those of his own Tribe who had joined the Prophet and the Kickapoos and Winebagoes that if they would immediately abandon the Prophet and return to their own Tribes their past conduct would be forgiven and that we would treat them as we formerly had done. He assured me that he would do so and that there was no doubt of their compliance. Indeed he said that he was certain that they would put the Prophet to death. I think upon the whole that there will be no further hostilities but of this I shall be enabled to give you some more certain information in a few days.

The Troops left the battle ground on the 9th Instant. It took every wagon to transport the wounded. We managed however to bring off the public property altho almost all the private baggage of the officers was necessarily destroyed.

It may perhaps be imagined Sir that some means might have been adopted to have made a more early discovery of the approach of the enemy to our camp the morning of the 7th inst., but if I had employed two thirds of the Army as out posts it would have been ineffectual—the Indians in such a night would have found means to have passed between them—placed in the situation that we were there is no other mode of avoiding a surprise than by a

chain of centinels so close together that the enemy cannot pass between without discovery and having the army in such readiness that they can get to their alarm posts at a moments warning. Our Troops would not have been better prepared than they were unless they had been kept under arms the whole night, as they lay with their accoutrements on and their arms by their sides and the moment they were up they were at their posts. If the centinels and the guards had done their duty even the Troops on the left flank would have been prepared to receive the Indians.

I have the Honor to inclose you a correct return of our killed and wounded. The wounded suffered very much before their arrival here but they are now comfortably fixed and every attention has been and shall continue to be paid to them. Doctor Foster is not only possessed of great professional merit but is moreover a man of feeling and honor.

I am convinced Sir that the Indians lost many more men than we did. They left from thirty six to forty on the field. They were seen to take off not only the wounded but the dead. An Indian that was killed and scalped in the beginning of the action by one of our men was found in a House in the Town. Several others were also found in the Houses and many graves which were fresh dug. One of them was opened and found to contain three dead bodies.

Our Infantry used principally cartridges containing twelve buck shot which were admirably calculated for a night action.

I have before informed you Sir that Col. Miller was prevented by illness from going on the expedition. He rendered essential service in the command of Fort Harrison. He is an officer of great merit.

There are so many circumstances which it is important for you to know respecting the situation of this Country that I have thought it best to commit this dispatch to my aid de Camp Major Taylor who will have the honor of delivering it to you and who will be able to give you more satisfaction than I could do by writing. Major Taylor (who is also one of our Supreme Judges) is a man of integrity and Honor and you may rely upon any statements he may make.

With the Highest Respect I have the Honor to be Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

P. S. Not a man of ours was taken prisoner and of the three scalps which were taken two of them were recovered.

The Honorable

W. Eustis

Secretary of War.

Testimonial of Harrison's Bravery.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

The undersigned, Field Officers, during the action at the Tippecanoe on the morning of the 7th Inst., desirous of stating their opinions with respect to the conduct of the Commander in Chief on that occasion, do hereby certify that the Governor was calm and deliberate—that his orders were precise and distinct—that he performed duties that might have been devolved on subordinates—that he directed and marched reinforcements to points where aid was necessary and posted them himself—that he never avoided the post of danger—That the victory was obtained by his vigilance and activity. In a word that his conduct in every respect was worthy the General and the soldier.

Given this 19th Nov. 1811.

JOSEPH BARTHOLOMEW,
Col. 2nd Indiana Regiment.

LUKE DECKER,
Col. 4th Ind. Regt. Infantry.

G. R. C. FLOYD, Major
4th U. S. Inf. Comdg. Regt.

SAMUEL WELLS,* Major Gen. of the
6th Division of the Kentucky
Militia now a Major of the Mounted
Riflemen Indiana Territory.

B. PARKE, Major of Light Dragoons.

NOAH PURCELL, Major 4th Ind. Regiment.

I do hereby certify that the above was correctly copied from the Original by me.

H. HURST, A. D. C.

[ENCLOSURE]

List of Killed and Wounded of the 4th U. S. Regiment in the Action with the Indians on the 7th November, 1811, Wabash River.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Captain Wentworth's Company.

Wounded, Lieut. George P. Peters
Cop'l, Solomon Johnson
Privates, Curtis Phipps
" Charles Wait
" William Layman

*Samuel Wells was a native of Virginia who came to Kentucky at an early day. He became a major of mounted volunteers in 1793 and major of a battalion of volunteer riflemen in 1811. He was made colonel in the 17th Infantry March 12, 1812, and honorably discharged June 1, 1814. *Heitman's Hist. Reg.*, etc.

	Privates,	Caleb Critchet	
	"	Jacob Keyser	
	"	Noah Furnald	
	"	Joseph Burdett	
	"	Stanton Smilie	
	"	Nath'l Harris	
	"	Isaac M. Nute—died since	
Killed,	"	William H. King.	13

Captain Baen Company.

	Wounded,	Captain	William C. Baen—died since.
	Private,	Dexter Earl—died since	
	"	Sylvester Dean	
	"	John Donahue	
	"	Timothy Foster	
	"	John D. Jones	
	"	Daniel Rodman	
	"	John Mahannah	
	"	Francis Nelson	
	"	Isaac Rathbone	10

Captain Snellings Company

	Wounded,	Private	Selathiel Hathaway*
	"	"	Goodenaw†
Killed,	"	Joseph Tibbetts	3

Captain R. B. Browns Company.

	Wounded,	Private	Augustus Bradford
	"	"	Bliss Lovell
	"	"	John Yeoman—died since

Late Captain Welches Company (under Com'd Capt. Barton).‡

	Wounded,	Lieut.	George Gooding
		Sergeant	Montgomery Orr§
		Corp.	John Rice
	Private,	Jona.	Crowell—died since
	"	Daniel	Gillman—died since
	"	Stephen	Pettis
	"	William	Pomroy
	"	Lucius	Sallis
	"	James	Stephenson¶
	"	Samuel	Tibbetts
Killed,	Corp'l	James	Mitchell
	"	David L.	Thompson
	Private	Levi	Cory

**Filson Club*, No. 15, page 125. Alanson Hathaway.

†Rufus Goodenough.

‡Should be Burton. See *Filson Club*, No. 15, page 130.

§Montgomery Orr gave his version of the attack before he died and it is printed in *Walker's Journal of Two Campaigns, etc.*, page 25.

¶Stevenson, Stephenson.

Captain Bartons Company.

Wounded Private David Carnes||—died since
 " Lewis Taylor "
 " Lemon E. Welch "
 " John Clark
 " Robert Douglass
 " William Foster
 " Samuel Souther
 " William Turner

8

Captain Prescott Company.

Wounded Private John Sanborn—died since.

1

Captain Cooks Company.

Wounded Sergeant Harvey Munn.
 Private Nathan Snow—died since
 " Dennison Crumley*
 " Robert Thompson
 " Charles Cogert†
 " Wm. M. Saunderson
 " Daniel Rogers
 " Amos Roice—died since
 " Daniel Lee—died since

9

Lieut. Albrights Detachment‡

Wounded Sergeant Alicott Babbet
 " Nathan Fairbanks
 Privates Samuel Potter
 " Lewis Mangum
 " Elisha Napp
 Killed " Israel Butler

6

Late Whitneys Company Rifle.

Wounded Ensign Henry Burchsted§
 Sergt. Reuben Newton
 " Aaron Furbush
 Private Eben. T. Andrews
 " William Brigham||
 " Ephraim Hall
 " Israel Newhall

||*Filson Club, No. 15, gives his name "David Kerns"; Walker's Journal of Two Campaigns gives it "Kearness."*

*Dennison Crumley (Crumby) died of his wounds, Dec. 28.

†Charles Croger died of his wounds, Dec. 3.

‡Jacob W. Albright, 2nd lieutenant of the 1st Infantry, commanding a company of the 7th Infantry.

§*Filson Club, No. 15, gives the name Nurchsted.*

||William Brigham died in the hospital, Dec. 4. He gave his statement, which is printed in *Walker's Journal, etc., page 27.*

Private Edward R. Tuck||
 " Samuel Thing▲
 Musician Adam Walker♠
 Killed, Private Ira T. Trowbridge.

11

Killed in the Action, 2 Corporals and 5 Privates; died since of wounds, 1 Captain and 12 Privates; Wounded now in Hospital, 57. Total 77.

J. L. EASTMAN,
 A. Adjutant 4th Regt. Infantry.

Fort Knox,
 November 19th 1811.

[ENCLOSURE]

**Report of the Sick, Wounded and Invalids of the United States
 Troops in the General Hospital at Vincennes and of the
 Sick in Quarters of Three Companies
 Stationed in Town.**

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Names.	Where Wounded or what Disease	Remarks.
1. Hall	Arm Fract.	
2. Newhall	Side	
3. Tuck	Thigh	
4. Thing	Thigh	
5. Orr, Sergt.	Body	
6. Rice, Corp.	Thigh and Hand	
7. Tibbetts	Thigh	
8. Pomroy	Thigh	
9. Johnson	Thigh	
10. Smiley	Arm	
11. Wait	Side	
12. Rodman	Hand	
13. Dunehue	Thigh	
14. Mahannah	Arm Amptd.	Dangerous
15. Dean	Arm Amptd.	Dangerous
16. Lovelle	Thigh Amptd.	
17. Crumley	Thigh Amptd.	
18. Santhers	Leg	
19. Clark	Arm	
20. Goodnauh	Hand	
21. Harris	Arm Fract.	
22. Douglass	Loins	
23. Potter	Body	
24. Mangam	Leg	

||Edward R. Suck and ▲Samuel Hing. Both *Filson Club*, No. 15, and *Walker's Journal* give the names thus.

♠Adam Walker, the musician, who wrote the *Journal of Two Campaigns of the Fourth Regiment of the U. S. Infantry in the Michigan and Indiana Territories under the Command of Col. John P. Boyd and Lieut. Col. James Miller during the Years 1811 and 1812.*

Names	Wounds & Diseases	Remarks
MILITIA		
25. Mahan	" Privates	
26. Bateman	Arm Amptd.	
27. Minor	Leg Amptd.	
28. Weathers	Thigh	
29. Ruskirk	Side	
30. Collins	Leg	
U. S. TROOPS SICK IN HOSPITAL.		
31. King	Debility	
32. Emmerson	"	
33. Clark	Fever Intermittent	
34. Hilyard	"	
35. McDuffy	"	
36. Walden	Pneumonia	
37. Peterson	"	Very Sick.
SICK IN QUARTERS.		
38. Colby	Cold	
39. Parker	Diarrhea	
40. Wells	Diarrhea	
41. Griffen	Fev. Intermittent	
42. Herdy	Diarrhea	
43. Watson	Diarrhea	
44. Mears	Diarrhea	
45. Smyth	Diarrhea	
46. Rice	Debility	
47. Knights	"	
48. Pierce	"	
49. Greeny	Slight Wound	
50. Bradford	"	All the sick and wounded opposite whose names no remark is made are considered safe and convalescent.

JOSIAH D. FOSTER, Sergn. 4th Reg.

HOSEA BLOOD, A. Assist. Surgeon, 4th Reg. Inf.

Josiah Snelling to William Henry Harrison, Enclosed in Letter to William Eustis, Nov. 26, 1811.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Fort Harrison, Nov. 20th 1811.

Sir,

Mr. Dubois a young man in the Contractor, being about to make a journey to Vincennes, has offered me an opportunity of communicating to your Excellency the substance of a conversation I had with Little Eyes a Chief of the Miami Tribe who visited me yesterday. He informed me that when the Delawares went with your last message to the Prophet's Town he accompanied them and with them returned in expectation of meeting you, until they discovered that you had crossed the River. They followed and on the morning of the action were in camped about one mile from us where they distinctly heard the report

of our guns; after the action was over (as he says) he proposed to his companions that they should come to our camp but this proposal was rejected through that the Kentucky people not knowing them for friends might shoot them—he therefore went to the Prophet's town where he found the Indians very much exasperated at their loss and reproaching the Prophet in bitter terms for the defeat he had brought upon them, accusing him of the murder of their friends who had fallen, etc. It seems that after pronouncing some incantations over a composition he had prepared on the night preceding the action, he assured them that by the power of his art half the Army was already dead and the other half bewildered or in a state of distraction, and they had nothing to do but rush into the Camps and complete the work of distraction—(a few words blurred)

You are a liar, said one of the Winebagoes to him, for you told us that the white people were dead or crazy when they were all in their senses and fought like the Devil. He appeared much crest fallen, or as Little Eyes described it, held his head down between his knees, but attempted to pacify them by saying that the virtue of his composition was lost, in consequence of it being with his wife the time of her monthly visitation, which circumstance he was unacquainted with until after the action and earnestly intreated them to suffer him once more to try his skill but notwithstanding his intreaties they bound him with cords and it was the opinion of Little Eyes they would sacrifice him. The little kickapoo who spoke in council at Vincennes would have shared his fate had he not made his escape. Parties of their young men were daily out in pursuit of him. When they evacuated their Town they marched only twenty miles and encamped on the waters of Wild Cat Paunch Creek where they now are. The Potowatomies Chief who was left wounded on the Ground made a faithful report of what you said to him and it appeared to have a good effect upon them. All the confederated Tribes had abandoned their faith in the Prophet except about forty Shawanose who still adhered to him. Many of their warriors remained very sick who were wounded with buck shot, four of them were wounded with a sabre, two severely, from the account given I imagine by Capt. Baen. Little Eyes says they told him, one of them had shot a soldier and was stooping to scalp him when he received a severe wound on his posterior from a stout warrior who was immediately surrounded and slain by four others, but not before he had wounded them all, one of them with his pistol which shot away all the flesh and muscles from the upper part of his arm of which wound he died the next day.

It gives me pain to inform your Excellency that the bodies of our deceased friends were the next day dispossessed of their graves and the slain Indians supplied their places and it is still

more to be regretted that they should have occasion to plead the white mens example who they said had disturbed the graves of their dead. Little Eyes said a Winebagoe told him they found fifty slain which was contradicted, but I suspect by the shrewd looks of the Indians when I spoke that he had ocular demonstration of the fact.

He requested me to tell his father the Governor that he was convinced he was a good and true man that you had told them you would go to the Prophet's Town but that you would not turn aside to the right or left to injure your children the Miamis which promise you had faithfully kept, while the Prophet had told them nothing but lies. He also wished me to inform your Excellency that in about twenty days there would be a great Council of the Delawares Potowatomies Hurons and Miamis at a place about sixty miles from this port for the purpose of talking of good things, that it was their desire to become one people and live in perpetual peace with the United States.

The Chippeways and Ottaways were to meet at the same time on the waters of Tippecanoe river, that it was their intention to send a deputation to Vincennes to inform your Excellency of the result of their Council and hear a talk from you. He represented to me that he was in a suffering condition for want of powder and earnestly requested a small supply. I told him it was not in my power to furnish him nor could I suffer him to purchase it of any person in the Garrison until I had received your instructions on the subject. Mons. Breulette informs me that just as Little Eyes was about to depart he told him that Lapouser, Negro Legs, Stone eater, Pecan, the Big Chief, Lorain & Gamelin say they will not receive annuities from the U. S. because they like their Land too much to part with it; all the rest of the Chiefs are willing to take.

I know not but all these things I have related may be mere trifles, but believing your Excellency knows much better than myself in what estimation to hold them I conceive I should be wanting in my duty did I not communicate them.

Suffer me to intrude on your patience one moment more and I have done. I observed in your instructions that I was occasionally to furnish the Indians who visited me with provisions, have I authority to draw on the Contractor for them and if so, does it extend to whiskey and tobacco.

With sentiments of the Highest respect

I am your Excellency's most Humble Servant,

J. SNELLING, Capt.

4th R. Inf.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 26th Nov. 1811.

Sir,

Before this reaches you I hope you will have received from the hands of my Aid de Camp Major Taylor my official account of the late action with the Indians. Upon examining my letter to you of the 3rd Inst. I find that I had omitted to mention the circumstance of my having sent another mission of Indians to the Prophet after the return of the Delaware Chiefs. The day that the Army left Fort Harrison I remained behind for some hours for the purpose of holding a conference with the Delaware and Miamis Chiefs as I had no reason to doubt the information I had received of the intention of the Prophet to burn the first prisoner he should take and was apprehensive I should find much difficulty in opening a communication with him as my interpreters had become so alarmed that I could scarcely get them to the front of the Army. I proposed to the Delawares that they should send three or four of their young men with me to be the bearers of another Speech to the Prophet, they agreed to the proposal and the Miamies then offered to go with all their chiefs and young men to make another effort to induce the Prophet to comply with my demands. I assented to their offer excepting as to the number of persons to be employed. I wanted only a few to go, they were extremely desirous of going *en masse* and I was obliged preemptorily to declare that not more than twenty four should go. This number was at length agreed on. The demands which they were to make to the Shawanoes were that "the Winebagoes, Potawatomes and Kickapoos who were with him should return to their respective Tribes. That all the stolen horses in his possession should be delivered up—that the murderers of our Citizens should either be given up or satisfactory proof given that they were not nor had not lately been under his control." I did not think proper to say anything at that time upon the subject of Hostages. I have never had any account of these Indians until I received the inclosed letter from Capt. Snelling whom I left in command of Fort Harrison—the account given to the Capt. of the course pursued by them is most assuredly false and I should not be surprised to find that our good friends the Miamis assisted the Prophet not only with their councils but with their guns—during the whole of the engagement a shower of balls was poured into our encampment from persons who were at a considerable distance from us in the marshy Prairie in front. They were either cowards who did not wish to come into danger or persons who did not wish to be discovered. I have determined however

to dissemble my suspicions—and if possible prevent any further hostilities. I fear however that the rashness of our own Citizens may defeat my intentions. They are prodigiously exasperated and the raising of our dead will make them more so. To insure their forbearance I have commanded, threatened and ——— I have written to Governor Edwards and Gen. Clark to request them to send speeches to the Kickapoos of the Prairie urging them to withdraw their warriors from the Prophet and I have dispatched an Express to Fort Wayne with instructions to Messrs. Shaw and Wells.

I left Capt. Snelling in the command of Fort Harrison with his own and Poseys Company. The two at that time making little more than fifty present fit for duty. The rest of the Regular Troops are in quarters in Fort Knox and in this Town. The Militia that were employed upon the expedition have all been mustered and discharged but I have thought it expedient to retain a company of Mounted Riflemen amounting to about fifty which had been turned out a few days before I arrived here to patrol round the settlements. They are posted at Bosseron twenty miles above this and are still employed in that service. I fear if the other Indians commit no depredations that the Winebagoes before their departure may break into our settlements and steal horses if not take scalps. To make it the interest of the Miamis and Potawatomes to get these fellows out of the Country as speedily as possible I have informed them through Messrs. Wells and Shaw that if we were obliged to send another Army against them we would keep as our own the Country which we should drive them from. I am at a loss to know what to require of them in regard to the Prophet—whether to insist upon his being given up—put to death or driven off. The objection to the latter is that he may establish himself elsewhere, but this I am certain will never happen in a manner to be productive of much injury. The veil under which he has practiced his impostures has been completely rent and must discover his true character to the most ignorant of the Indians. He has indeed by his avowed determination to stop the progress of our settlements acquired an astonishing popularity amongst all the Tribes—a few Chiefs excepted who were personally opposed to him perhaps there was not an Indian who did not wish well to his cause and hence I suspect that altho his warriors were in the front of the late action it will be found that he was supported by an host of those who call themselves our friends. Nothing proves more clearly the treachery of the measures than the false information they gave me—they asserted positively that the Potawatomes had abandoned the Prophet whereas the fact is that they had obtained an accession of strength from that Tribe. All the information I receive from the Indian Country I shall immediately transmit to you that the President may be master to determine the course which is to be pursued. Under the circumstances in which the Country

is placed I have thought it expedient to retain the command of the Regular Troops as well as the Militia and have directed Capt. Snelling to receive his orders from me.

All the muster rolls of the Militia Companies will be forwarded immediately to the accomptants office. I have never known what pay is allowed to Dragoons when they furnish their own horses, I promised the Mounted Riflemen that they should receive the same. If I am not mistaken there is a law which provides for the payment of Horses killed in battle—but I believe not for those which were lost or taken. In the course of the action a number of horses broke loose and ran off and were taken by the Indians—an account of these have been taken as well as of the saddles that were necessarily destroyed. On the morning that the Troops marched from the battle ground two wagons were appropriated to bring off the public property the baggage of the officers and the saddles of those who had lost their horses—it was soon however discovered that it would require every wagon for the wounded—it became therefore necessary to destroy all the private property—and I had no other alternative to save the guns of the killed and wounded men than to oblige each Dragoon to take one. The persons who have lost their horses and saddles in the manner above described flatter themselves that remuneration will be made them by the Government and I most sincerely hope that they may not be disappointed. I am not on this occasion an interested advocate. I lost no horse but one that was shot dead under my Aid de Camp Major Taylor—that is a case which I suppose to be already provided for and with regard to my baggage which was destroyed I shall never make a charge of it. But many of the men are in such circumstances that the loss of a horse and saddle will be severely felt. Every description of Troops which composed my little Army have certainly deserved well of their Country. Not only for their bravery in the field but for their patience under fatigue and hunger exposed too to the inclemency of the weather without tents and many of them without shoes and with clothing by no means suited to the season. I can also state that this is the only campaign in the Western Country in which the Militia were made to work in the erection of forts. For the building of Fort Harrison the militia were regularly detailed with the other Troops and besides their quota they furnished two small parties of Volunteers who were on constant duty at the more particular work of hewing timber and sawing—All the additional expence incurred by the public was for the daily fatigue an extra gill of Whisky per man and for those on constant duty an extra half ration.

I am sorry to inform you that several of the wounded men have died since Major Taylor left this, and several have lost their limbs. By some unaccountable accident no bark has been sent on in the Medicine Posts for the 4th Regt. I was obliged yesterday to send to Louisville for some.

27th. A report reached town yesterday that some mischief had been done by the Indians about 20 miles off—it is however I am confident entirely false.

With great Respect I am, Sir, your Humble Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Honorable William Eustis Esq.,
Secretary of War.

Andrew Jackson to Governor W. H. Harrison.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Hermitage, 28th November 1811.

With deep and heart felt regret, I received the information of the loss you sustained, on the morning of the seventh instant, by the attack of the Indians upon your encampment. Upon the receipt of this information, and hearing that you were slowly retreating* I issued orders to my respective Brigades, to hold themselves in readiness to march to your support, in case the safety of your frontier, and your request, might make it necessary and proper.

Should the aid of part of my division be necessary to enable you to revenge the blood of our brave heroes, who fell by the deceitful hands of those unrelenting barbarians, I will with pleasure march with five hundred or one thousand brave Tennesseans. *The blood of our murdered Countrymen must be revenged.* That banditti ought to be swept from the face of the earth. I do hope that Government will see that it is necessary to act efficiently and that this hostile band which must be excited to war, by the secret agents of Great Britain must be destroyed. Should my services be necessary to your safety, and that of your Country, by notifying me thereof and at what point I can meet with supplies, I will have the number required at a short day at the appointed place.

Being called by imperious business from home for a short time, I have directed my aids Major Anderson and Major Coffee, to attend at Nashville, receive letters to my address, and should you require men, to have them ready and prepared to march at my return. You will please address me at Nashville.

Accept assurances of my esteem and respect,

ANDREW JACKSON,† Major General

2 Division Tennessee.

Governor Harrison.

*The first rumors of the battle were not encouraging. Harrison was thought to have been surprised and his sentinels were supposed to have been shot with poisoned arrows. *Niles Register*, Vol. II, page 56.

†Andrew Jackson, the seventh President of the United States, served two terms, 1829-1833, 1833-1837.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.
Letter Read in Congress.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

12 Cong. L. 1 Sess.

Gov. Harrison's Letter
of Dec. 4, 1811.
1811

Dec. 19. Read.

Vincennes, 4th Dec. 1811.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that two principal Chiefs of the Kickapoos of the prairie arrived here, bearing a flag, on the evening before last. They informed me that they came in consequence of a message from the Chief of that part of the Kickapoos which had joined the Prophet, requiring them to do so, and that the said Chief is to be here himself in a day or two. The account which they gave of the late confederacy under the Prophet is as follows: "The Prophet, with his Shawanoes, is at a small Huron Village about twelve miles from his former residence, on this side of the Wabash, where also were twelve or fifteen Hurons. The Kickapoos are encamped near to the Tippecanoe. The Potawatomes have scattered and gone to different villages of that Tribe. The Winebagoes had all set out on their return to their own Country, excepting one Chief and nine men who remained at their former village. The latter had attended Tecumseh in his tour to the southward and had only returned to the Prophet's town the day before the action. The Prophet had sent a messenger to the Kickapoos of the Prairie, to request that he might be permitted to return to their town. This was positively refused, and a warning sent to him, not to come there. He then sent to request that four of his men might attend the Kickapoo Chief here—this was also refused. These Chiefs say, on the whole, that all the Tribes who lost warriors in the late action, attribute their misfortune to the Prophet alone;—that they constantly reproach him with their misfortunes, and threaten him with death.—That they are all desirous of making their peace with the United States and will send deputations to me for that purpose, as soon as they are informed that they will be well received. The two Chiefs further say that they were sent by Gov. Howard and Gen. Clark, some time before the action, to endeavor to bring off the Kickapoos from the Prophet's Town; that they used their best endeavors to effect it, but unsuccessfully. That the Prophet's followers were fully impressed with a belief that they could defeat us with ease; that it was their intention to have attacked us at Fort Harrison, if we had gone no higher; that Racoon Creek was then fixed on, and finally pine Creek;

and that the latter would probably have been the place, if the usual route had not been abandoned, and a crossing made higher up; That the attack made on our Centinels at Fort Harrison was intended to shut the door against accommodations. That the Winebagoes had forty warriors killed in the action, and the Kickapoos eleven and ten wounded. They have never heard how many of the Potawatomes and other Tribes were killed. That the Potawatomie Chief left by me on the battle ground is since dead of his wounds, but that he faithfully delivered my speech to the different Tribes, and warmly urged them to abandon the Prophet and submit to my terms.

I cannot say, Sir, how much of the above may be depended on. I believe, however, that the statement made by the Chief is generally correct, particularly with regard to the present disposition of the Indians. It is certain that our frontiers have never enjoyed more profound tranquility than at this time. No injury of any kind that I can hear of has been done, either to the persons or property of our Citizens. Before the expedition, not a fortnight passed over without some vexatious depredation being committed.

The Kickapoo Chiefs certainly tell an untruth when they say that there were but eleven of their Tribe killed, and ten wounded; it is impossible to believe that fewer were wounded than killed. They acknowledge, however, that the Indians have never sustained so severe a defeat since their acquaintance with the White People.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir,

Your humble servant,
(signed) WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

P. S. The Chief of the Vermillion Kickapoos has this moment arrived.

Honorable

William Eustis Esq.,
Secretary of War.

President Madison's Message, Dec. 18, 1811.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

No. 131.

12 Cong. }
1 Sess. } L.

Message of the P. U. S.
of 18th December communicating
information respecting the
engagement on the Wabash.
1811.

Dec, 18. Read.

Series 2

Doc. No. 131.

To the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States.

I lay before Congress two letters received from Governor Harrison of the Indiana Territory reporting the particulars and the issue of the expedition under his command of which notice was taken in my communication of November 5th.

While it is deeply lamented that so many valuable lives have been lost in the action which took place on the 7th ult., Congress will see with satisfaction the dauntless spirit and fortitude victoriously displayed by every description of the troops engaged, as well as the collected firmness which distinguished their commander, on an occasion requiring the utmost exertions of valor and discipline.

It may reasonably be expected that the good effects of this critical defeat and dispersion of a combination of savages which appears to have been spreading to a greater extent, will be experienced not only in a cessation of the murders and depredations lately committed on our frontier, but in the prevention of any hostile incursions otherwise to have been apprehended.

The families of those brave and patriotic Citizens who have fallen in this severe conflict will doubtless engage the favorable attention of Congress.

JAMES MADISON.

Washington, December 18th 1811.

Report of the Killed and Wounded of the 4th U. S. Regiment Infantry in the Action with the Indians of the 7th November, 1811, on the Wabash River.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Companies	Killed						Died since of Wounds						Wounded now in Hospital										
	Captains	Subalterns	Sergeants	Corpl.	Musicians	Privates	Total Killed	Captain	Subaltern	Sergeants	Corpl.	Musicians	Privates	Total died Since of Wounds	Capt.	Subl.	Sergt.	Corpl.	Musicians	Privates	Total in Hospital	Aggregate	
Capt. Wentworth.....						1	1							1	1					9	11	13	
" Cook's.....														3	3		1			5	6	9	
" Prescott.....														1	1					2	1	3	
" Brown.....														1	1					2	2	3	
" Snelling.....						1	1													2	2	3	
" Barton.....														3	3					5	5	8	
" Late Welch.....				2		1	3							2	2		1	1		3	8	13	
" Albright.....						1	1										2			5	5	6	
" Late Whitney.....						1										1			1	6	10	11	
" Baens.....								1						1	2					8	8	10	
Total.....				2		5	7	1						12	13		3	6	2	1	45	57	77

Fort Knox
November 19th, 1811

J. L. EASTMAN
A. Adjutant
4th Infy.

A General Return of the Killed and Wounded of the Army Under the Command of His Excellency William Henry Harrison, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory, in the Action with the Indians Near Prophet's Town, November 7th, 1811.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

	Killed									Wounded since dead							Wounded							Total		
	Aid de Camp	Lt. Cl.	Majors	Captains	Subalterns	Sergeants	Corporals	Music	Privates	Lt. Colo.	Major	Captains	Subalterns	Sergeants	Corporals	Music	Privates	Lt. Colo.	Adjutant	Surgs. Mate	Captain	Subaltern	Sergeants		Corporals	Music
General Staff.....	1										1							2	1	1						1
Field and Staff.....												1														5
U. S. Infantry.....						2		5				1					14									43
Colo. Decker's Militia.....								4				1					1					3	6	2	1	16
Major Redman's Militia.....					1			6									1									14
Major Daviess's Dragoons.....								4																		5
Major Well's Mounted Rifl.....								4																		10
Capt. Spencer's Rifl.....			1	2				6								3				1						19
Spies, Guides and Wagoners.....								5								3						1				12
Total.....	1		1	2	1	2	30			1	2					22	2	1	1	2	3	9	5	1	102	188

NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED AS PR GENL. RETURN.

General Staff

Killed Col. Abraham Owens Aid de Camp to the Commander in Chief.

Field and Staff

Wounded, Lieut. Col. Joseph Bartholemew Commanding Indiana Militia Infantry
 " Lieut. Colo. Luke Decker of " " "
 " Major Joseph H. Daviess since dead Commanding Squadron Dragoons
 " Doctor Edward Scull of the Indiana Militia
 " Adjutant James Hunter of Mounted Riflemen

U. S. Infantry including the Late Captain Whitney's Rifle Company

Wounded, Capt. W. C. Baen acting Major since dead.

" Lieut. George P. Peters
 " Lieut. George Gooding
 " Ensign Henry Burchstead

Colonel Deckers Detachment of Indiana Militia
Wounded, Capt. Jacob Warrick since dead.

Major Redmans Detachment of Indiana Militia
Wounded, Capt. John Norris

Major Wells's Detachment of Mounted Riflemen
Wounded Capt. Frederick Guiger

Capt. Spencer's Company including Lieut. Berrys Detachment of
Mounted Riflemen

Killed Captain Spier Spencer
" 1st Lieut. Richard McMahan
" Lieut. Thomas Berry

NATH. F. ADAMS
Adjt. of the Army.

To His Excellency The Commander in Chief

William H. Harrison to William Eustis.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 11th. Dec. 1811

Sir

To show you to what a pitch the Spirit of the Western Country has risen I enclose you one out of many letters, on the same Subject and containing similar offers, which I am almost daily receiving from Kentucky & Tennessee.

General Jackson (the writer)* bears a high character as a Soldier & a Patriot.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect Sir

Your humbl servt

WILLM HENRY HARRISON

The Honbl. William Eustis, Esq.
Sec. of War.

*See Jackson's letter, page 263.

A Report of the Sick and Invalided at Fort Knox Under the Command of Captain Cook, December 17th, 1811.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Companies	Names	Total	Remarks
Capt. Cook	Sanderson	1	Wounded Invalid
Barton's	Perry	4	Interm. fever Convalescent
	Wilson		Ditto Ditto
	Poland		Hypochondriac (illegible)
	Foster		Wounded Invalid
Late Baen's	Leonard	4	Inter. fever Convalescent
	Hall		Scald foot Invalid
	Ballow		Wounded Ditto
	Foster		Ditto Ditto
Welches	Spaulding	1	Interm. fever Convalescent
Whitney's	Sergt. J. Philips.....	5	Infl. fever
	Dalton (?)		Intr. fever Convalescent
	Hair		Ditto Ditto
	Johnson		Ditto Ditto
	Russell		Paralytic stroke
Posey's Detachment	Sergt. Fairbanks.....	10	Wounded Invalid
	Corp. Hicks.....		Inter. fever Convalescent
	" Bolan.....		Ditto Ditto
	Clark		Ditto Ditto
	Ryans		Ditto Ditto
	Page		Ditto Ditto
	Comens		Ditto Ditto
	Sheldon		Stiff knee Invalid
	Benson		General Debility
	Gibbs		Dropsy Convalescent
Total		25	

Per KUYKENDALL act.
R Surgeons Mate

(Continued)



MANUSCRIPTS AND RECORDS

FROM THE

BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION

VOLUME I

APRIL, 1918

NUMBER 7

THE MORAVIAN INDIANS OF OHIO AND THEIR WANDERINGS, 1782-1809.

The story of the massacre of the Christian Indians at Gnadenheuten, Ohio, is perhaps the blackest page in the history of the treatment of the Indian in the United States. Still there is undoubtedly much to be said on both sides. Situated as they were between the English and the Americans, they were constantly under suspicion and were naturally harassed from both sides. The British believed that Zeisberger and Heckenwelder were friendly to the Americans and suspected that they sent valuable news to Fort Pitt, whereas the settlers on the frontier had little or no faith in the Christianity of the Moravian Indians and believed that they did occasionally take part in the raids on the settlements. Accordingly they were urged by the American government to move nearer to Fort Pitt for protection. The British, however, took action and in the winter of 1781 forcibly removed the Missionaries and many of the Christian Indians from their settlements to the vicinity of Sandusky. Col. DePeyster then ordered the Missionaries to go to Detroit and after carefully examining them as to their neutrality allowed them to return to the Sandusky. His treatment was kind and considerate and when the tragedy here related, occurred, the Missionaries and the remaining Indians were quite willing to accept his invitation to seek shelter under the protection of the British government.

Undoubtedly the massacre had much to do with the cruel treatment of Crawford in the following June.

The Moravians now settled on the banks of the Clinton (then called the Huron) River about three miles from the present town

147511
2111118

of Mt. Clemens. They remained there four years always with the hope of returning to their homes on the Muskingum. In 1786 they sold their improvements on the Huron and set out for their former abode. Finding it still unsafe they established themselves on the Cuyahoga at a place *Loskiel* calls "Pilgerruh" or Pilgrims' Rest. Being constantly annoyed by the Indians and by threatening reports, they moved farther west and settled on the Huron River, calling their home New Salem. This was probably in the vicinity of the present town of Milan, Erie Co., Ohio. They soon discovered that they were still in danger and after negotiations with the British authorities, the Missionaries led their Indians into Canada in 1791, spent a year on the Detroit River where Fort Malden was later built and finally obtained a grant of land on the Thames River (Riviere La Tranche) where they established Fairfield. *Heckewelder's Narrative* edited by Connelly; *Zeisberger's Diary* edited by Bliss; *David Zeisberger and his Delaware Indians with extracts from his Journals*, Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, Vol. XII, pages 176-198.

A TRUE HISTORY
of the
MASSACRE OF NINETY-SIX CHRISTIAN
INDIANS

at
GNADENHUETTEN, OHIO,
March 8th, 1782.

Published by the Gnadenhuetten Monument Society—
Organized Oct. 7th, 1843.

NEW PHILADELPHIA,
Printed at the Lutheran Standard Office.
1844.

GNADENHUETTEN MASSACRE.

Alas! alas! for treachery! the boasting white men came
With weapons of destruction,—the sword of lurid flame;
And while the poor defenseless ones together bow'd in prayer,
Unpitied they smote them while kneeling meekly there.

The cry of slaughter'd innocence went loudly up to heaven;
And can ye hope, ye murdering bands, ever to be forgiven?
We know not,—yet we ween for you the latest lingering prayer
That trembled on your victims' lips, was, "God, forgive and spare!"

The Moravian Missionary establishments at Gnadenhuetten, Salem and Schoenbrunn on the Tuscarawas River, in Ohio, among the Indians, were frequently interrupted, and the faith and patience of the Missionary brethren and their Indian congregations often severely tried. As their religion taught them to cultivate the art of peace instead of war, and as they wished to preserve neutrality between the English and their Indian allies on the one hand, and the Americans on the other, they were subject to constant suspicion, and were treated in a hostile manner by both parties. The English Governor* at Fort Detroit, influenced by the calumnies of their enemies, believed that the Christian Indians were partisans with the Americans, and that the Missionaries acted as spies. In order to rid himself of them, he sent a message to Pimoacan,† the half-king of the Wyandots, to take up the Indian congregations and their teachers, and carry them away. This man, instigated by the Delaware Captain Pipe, a sworn enemy to the mission, at length agreed to commit this act of injustice.

*Arent Schuyler DePeyster was grandson of Abraham DePeyster, a merchant at New Amsterdam (New York). He was born at New York, June 27, 1736, and died at Dumfries, Scotland, November, 1832. He was a Royalist during the American Revolution and an officer of ability. During the war he was Commandant of Mackinaw and Detroit.

†Pemoacan was the name the Delawares gave the famous Half-King also called Dervantate, Dayenty, Douyentette, etc. He was believed to have been born about 1715 and it is claimed by some Wyandots that he was born in the village of Brownstown, Mich. Mr. Connelley in his edition of *Heckewelder's Narrative* states that he died at Detroit in July, 1788. The *Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905, page xciv*, speaks of him as Dewentatee and gives his death as February or March, 1791. (See also note on page 18, this volume.) He lived on the Huron Reserve near the River Canard with his wife and a daughter who had two sons baptised by the Huron priest of the Assumption. *Records of the Church of the Assumption, Sandwich, Ont.; Handbook of American Indians.*

In August, 1781, a troop of warriors amounting to upwards of 300, commanded by the half-king, the Delaware Captain Pipe,* and an English Captain Elliott,† made their appearance at Gnadenhuetten to accomplish this cruel object. The half-king and his retinue put on the mask of friendship and proposed the removal of the Christian Indians as a measure dictated by a regard for their safety. This proposal they respectfully declined, promising, however, to consider their words, and return an answer, the next winter.

The half-king would probably have been satisfied with this answer had not the English officer Elliott, and Captain Pipe urged him to persevere. The consequence was that the hostile party became peremptory in their demands, and insisted on their removal. Their vengeance was particularly directed against the missionaries, and they held frequent consultations in which it was proposed to murder all the white brethren and sisters, and even the Indian assistants. Finally after much violence, and many barbarous cruelties, they compelled the Christian Indians and their teachers to emigrate, leaving behind them a great quantity of corn in their stores, besides a large crop just ready to be reaped, together with potatoes and other vegetables and garden fruits.

In the beginning of October, 1781,‡ the Missionaries, with the greater part of their congregation, arrived under the escort of the Wyandots at Sandusky. Here their savage conductors abandoned them, and loaded with plunder, returned to their homes, leaving them to shift for themselves in a country that was destitute of game, and every means of support. Pimoacan exulted in the accomplishment of his designs, and informed them that being now in his dominions, they were bound to obey his mandates, and commanded them to hold themselves in readiness to go to battle with him.

For a time the exiles roved to and fro, seeking a favorable locality for their stay over winter, and at length pitched upon a

*Capt. Pipe or Hopocan, signifying the "tobacco pipe" in Delaware, was a restless and ambitious chief, who sided with the English in the Revolution and influenced as many Delawares as he could. He was greatly influenced by Girty, McKee and Elliot. He died a day or two before the battle of Fallen Timbers and was buried at Little Sandusky, Wyandott Co., Ohio. *Heckewelder's Narrative by Connelley, pages 175-176.*

†Matthew Elliott. See note page 224, this volume.

‡A letter from Alexander McKee to Major DePeyster dated Sept. 26th, 1781, shows the feeling the British had toward the Moravians and their reason for forcing the Indians and their missionaries to leave their villages. "Mr. Elliot returned also yesterday from the Moravian Towns and informs me that the party he accompanied to that place were detained there a long time and amused by the Moravians who were secretly sending intelligence and endeavoring to bring the enemy upon them to cut them off, which at length they discovered and then fell upon them and are bringing them away by force; the Hurons are disposed, I understand, to place them at Upper Sandusky where they will still be too convenient to correspond with the enemy," etc. *Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. 10, page 518.* About this time Brig-Gen. William Irvine was appointed by Congress to the command of the Western Department with headquarters at Fort Pitt. He was unable to reach his post of duty until November, 1781.

spot, situated on the East side of the Upper Sandusky, as the best they could find. Yet even here the country was dreary and barren, and they were at a loss to conceive whence the means of supporting so many should come during the winter which had already set in.

Their small stock of provisions was nearly exhausted, and the missionaries had to depend upon the voluntary contributions of those members who had a little Indian corn left.

With their usual diligence, rising through faith above all disheartening trials, they commenced at once building huts for the winter. During their labours their daily meetings were kept under the broad canopy of heaven. When the shadows of evening fell upon them, they seated themselves around fires in the open air; one of the missionaries delivering to the listening circle a short discourse. At times, some of the strolling savages would also attend, not to hear the gospel preached, but to scoff and laugh. What a sight! The genius of religion might hover over it, and point to the redeeming power which accompanied the cross of Christ! Wild Savages cleaving to the hope of eternal life amid all the ill fortune that seemed at every step to mark their christian pilgrimage! But their joy no man could take from them.

A message then came to them from the commandant at Detroit, that the Missionaries should quickly repair thither. Glad of the opportunity to exculpate themselves and refute the many lies propagated respecting them, four of the teachers, with several Indian brethren, obeyed the summons. They appeared before the court martial at that place; their conduct was investigated, especially in relation to the imputed "correspondence with the rebels, and frustrating of the intended attacks of Indians upon the frontiers," and they were completely exonerated from all blame.*

The governor endeavored to atone for the ill treatment he had brought upon them, by every act of kindness. He provided them with suitable clothing and other necessities, repurchased their watches for them, and parted from them with most marked expressions of esteem.

Thankful for the gracious interposition of God in their behalf, the Missionaries returned home, and were greeted with unbounded joy by their people, who had apprehended that they

*Dr. Doddridge in his Notes on the Indian Wars appears to me to have given credence to the charges of the Moravians having often sent runners to Fort Pitt to give notice of the approach of war parties and so far violating the terms of neutrality, upon insufficient authority. It is not denied that the Christian Indians relieved the prisoners who were carried through their settlements, and often dissuaded their heathen kinsmen from pursuing their expeditions but their hearts were equally open to every other appeal of suffering humanity. It would appear strange that a circumstance like the one conceded by Dr. Doddridge should not have come to light before the tribunal at Detroit, confronted as they were with their enemies, the chief of whom, Captain Pipe, after some fruitless evasions, was obliged to confess, that he had calumniated them.

would be kept prisoners, as had also been the commandant's original intention. Notwithstanding their extreme poverty the following months were a joyful season to them, and they celebrated Christmas with cheerfulness and a blessing, in their newly built log-chapel.

The year 1782 had now commenced, and their situation was distressing in the extreme. A supply of 400 bushels of Indian corn which had been fetched from the deserted towns was again exhausted, and famine stared them in the face. Provisions of all kinds were wanting; corn was very scarce throughout the country, and such as had it asked a dollar for three or four quarts; the winter was unusually severe, and wood difficult to be obtained. The cattle began to die of hunger; and the congregation were driven to the necessity of supporting themselves upon their carcasses. In some instances babes perished for want of nourishment from their mother's impoverished breasts.

In these deplorable circumstances, after due deliberation, the Indians came to the determination to return once more for food to their forsaken fields, where the corn was still standing. Having formed themselves into several divisions, they set out, in all about one hundred and fifty, men, women and children, the greater part to return no more, but to fall a sacrifice to the treachery and revenge of the white men in the notorious massacre at Gnadenhuetten.*

The actors in this foul transaction consisted of a military band of about one hundred men, from the western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, under the command of Col. David Williamson.† The murder was premeditated; for their purpose was to proceed as far as Sandusky, in order to destroy all the Moravian Indians. Among the incentives to this expedition against a quiet and peaceable people, were the unusually early depredations of the savages upon the Ohio settlements, in the month of February, which, it is alleged, led to the conclusion that the murderers were either Moravians, or that the warriors had their winter quarters at their towns; in either case the Moravians being in fault, the safety of the frontier settlements required the destruction of their establishments. Besides the dismissal—of Shabosh and some Christian Indians, who had been captured in the fall, (by Col. Gibson of Pittsburg) which was but a common act of justice, gave great offense to the neighboring settlers. Men of

*My authorities for the following narration are Zeisberger's Journal, Holmes' and Loskiel's Histories, Willet's Scenes in the Wilderness, and Doddridge's Notes.

†Col. David Williamson, a battalion commander in Washington Co., Pa., was born near Carlisle, Pa., in 1752, and died at Washington, Pa., in 1814. When he was young his father, John Williamson, took his family to Buffalo Creek where he built a fort which was maintained during the Revolution. David was popular in his county and his conduct was upheld by the frontier men while considered disgraceful by many others. He was in command of the Moravian expedition but held second place in the expedition against Sandusky which ended in Crawford's death. *Old Westmoreland*, page 133, and *Heckewelder's Narrative* by Connelley, page 440.

the first standing in those parts, in consequence, volunteered to accompany Col. Williamson; each man furnishing himself with his own ammunition, and provisions, and many of them travelling on horseback.

Col. Gibson,* of Fort Pitt—despatched messengers, (as soon as he heard of the plot) to warn the Indians of the approaching danger, but they arrived too late. From another quarter, however, they received timely notice, but, unfortunately, they thought the information unworthy of credit. So secure did they feel at their occupations, that they neglected all their usual precautions. Parties were at work in the cornfields, at each of the three settlements, Gnadenhuetten, Salem and Schoenbrunn. They had already made fine progress and gathered a large quantity of grain, and were beginning to bundle up their packs in order to take their final leave of the places, when suddenly the militia made their appearance.

When within a mile of Gnadenhuetten, Col. Williamson's party had encamped for the night and reconnoitered their position. On the morning of the 6th of March the following plan for an assault was then devised. One half of the men were to cross the river, and attack the Indians who were at work in their cornfields on the West side, whilst the other half, being divided into three detachments, were to fall simultaneously from different quarters upon the village on the East side.—When the former division reached the river, they could not ford it, because it was high and filled with floating ice; but, observing something like a canoe on the opposite side, a young man of the party swam across, and brought over what proved to be a large sap-trough. In this, going two by two, they commenced crossing, but impatient at the delay, a few got over, swimming at its side and holding fast to the edges. In this manner sixteen had crossed over, when the sentinels, who were in advance, discovered a lad, named Joseph Shabosh, the son of the assistant missionary, fired at him and broke one of his arms. The rest hastened to the spot, sending word by those who remained on the East side, for the other detachments to march upon Gnadenhuetten without a moment's delay, supposing that the firing would have alarmed the inhabitants. With most piteous entreaties young Shabosh begged them to spare his life, representing that he was the son of a white man; but, regardless of his cries and tears, they killed him with their hatchets, and scalped him. After thus whetting their appetites in his warm life-blood, the party approached the plantations.

The first to discover their approach was an Indian named Jacob, a brother-in-law to young Shabosh, who was employed near the banks of the river, tying up his corn. Remaining unper-

*Col. John Gibson. See note, page 13 this volume. Also *Washington-Irvine Correspondence by Butterfield*, note on page 350.

ceived, he was about to hail them, supposing them to be a friendly party, when at that instant they shot at one of the brethren who was just crossing the river from the town. Upon perceiving this, Jacob fled with the utmost precipitation, and before their faces were turned towards him was out of sight. Had he acted with some coolness and courage, he might have saved many a valuable life; especially by proceeding to Salem, and giving the alarm. But instead of this, fear led him to flee several miles in an opposite direction, where he hid himself a day and a night.

The party of sixteen now drew near to the Indians, who were at work in the fields in considerable numbers, and had their guns with them, and finding that they were greatly outnumbered, accosted them in a friendly manner. They pretended to pity them on account of their past sufferings, said they had come to conduct them to a place of safety near Pittsburgh; and advised them to discontinue their work at once, and return with them to the town to hold a further parley. To all this the Indians, anticipating no harm from American soldiers, and ignorant as yet of the murder of Shabosh, cheerfully acceded.—Not dreaming that they were to be caught “like fish in an evil net, and as birds that are caught in the snare,” they rejoiced that they had found such true friends, and imagined they saw the hand of God in it,—who was about to put an end to all their sufferings, and lead them to a more secure and pleasant country.

The other detachments had meanwhile arrived at the village, where they found but one man, and a woman, whom they shot, as she was hiding in the bushes. But so prepossessed were the Indians with the idea of removing that nothing was able to shake their confidence in the white men. They cheerfully surrendered their guns, hatchets and other weapons, upon receiving the promise that they should be restored at Pittsburg, shewed them where they had secreted their communion wine and other property in the woods, helped them to pack it up, and began to make every preparation for the journey to Pittsburg.

The native assistant John Martin had gone to Salem, immediately upon the arrival of the party, to inform the inhabitants of the state of affairs; and the next day a troop of horsemen rode down to bring them all in. With the same confiding trust in their profession of peace and good-will, they returned with them, conversing on the road upon religious topics, in which their attendants joined with much appearance of piety. Simple children of the forest, how dove-like had Christianity made you! How little did you dream of deliberate deceit and base treachery, and that as sheep you were being led to the slaughter!—Arriving at the river-bank opposite Gnadenhuetten, their eyes began to open, however, when it was too late. They discovered a spot of blood on the sand, which excited disquietude and alarm. Soon their boding fears received full confirmation. As soon as they

entered the town all were seized, as those in town had been a short time before, their guns and pocket knives were taken by their conductors; they were pinioned, and confined in two houses standing some distance apart; the men in one, the women and children in the other. Here they met together—associates for the last time in sorrow. They mingled their tears and their sympathies together, and their prayers ascended to the throne of grace.

The miscreants now held a consultation, to decide the fate of the prisoners. The charges which they brought against them were, that their horses, as also their axes, pewter basins and spoons, and all they possessed had been stolen or obtained by improper means from the white people, and also that they were warriors, and not christians.—All of them were utterly false and frivolous. On the contrary it is presumable that the expedition would never have been undertaken, or at least not so imprudently conducted, if they had anticipated resistance. They well knew the pacific principles of the Moravian Indians, and calculated on blood and plunder without having a shot fired at them. With a mere show of defence it is likely that such men might have been repulsed. Some deeds of blood were, no doubt, imputed to these Indians, for, according to the statement of the missionaries, the Wyandot and Delaware warriors, who were inimical to the Gospel, had always made it a point to return from their campaigns through their settlements, in the expectation that it would bring the whites upon the Moravians. Some warriors, too, accompanied them on their return from Sandusky, crossed the Ohio and committed several murders, and on their way back stopped near Gnadenhuetten where they impaled a woman and child; but it is equally certain that the Christians had no part or lot in the matter. Two of these warriors were captured at the same time, and were tomahawked outside of the town by the white men.—As to the other charge, it rested upon no other foundation than that one man is said to have found here the bloody clothes of his wife and children, which were plainly those of the woman and child killed near the town, and secreted here by their enemies. Others may have recognized property in the hands of the Indians, since it is probable that the warriors, in their passage through the villages, were in the habit of bartering various articles of value, for provisions, in lieu of money; but if this was contrary to their neutral engagements, it was unavoidable, as the warriors possessed both the will and the means to compel them to give them whatever they wanted.

On such pretexts, the Indians were condemned to death. The blood-thirsty troops were clamorous to begin the butchery without delay. The officers hesitated. But can it be doubted, that if they had been really averse to the crime, they might have checked the vindictive spirit of their unprincipled subordinates?

And had Col. Williamson been the brave man he is represented to have been, would he not have staked his life upon their defence, rather than that the unoffending and pious captives should perish? It was probably, therefore, more for the sake of appearances, and to devolve a part of the awful responsibility upon their men, than from any motives of mercy that they determined first to let it be put to a vote of the whole corps. Col. Williamson put the question, in form: "Whether the Moravian Indians should be taken prisoners to Pittsburg, or put to death;" and requested that all those who were in favor of saving their lives, should step out of their line and form a second rank. On this sixteen or eighteen stepped forward, and upwards of eighty remained. The fate of the Indians was thus decided on and they were told to prepare for death, a brief respite till the morrow being all that was granted them.

During the night the murderers then deliberated whether they should burn them alive or tomahawk and scalp them, and a few proposed milder measures; but the voice of mercy was overruled, and it was determined to butcher them one by one. The Indians were at first overwhelmed at the news of their impending fate. But quickly collecting themselves again, and patiently submitting to the inscrutable decree of the Lord whose servants they had become, they spent the night in prayer, asking pardon of each other for whatever offence they had given or grief they had occasioned, and exhorting one another to a faithful and meek endurance of their trials to the end. At the dawn of morning they then offered fervent supplications to God their Saviour, and united in singing praises unto Him, in the joyful hope that they should soon enter into His glorious presence, in everlasting bliss. In this hour the consolations of divine grace abounded in their souls; they felt the peace of God which passeth all understanding, and cheerfully resigned, they awaited the summons of their executioners.

It was the morning of the 8th of March when the awful scene was enacted. The murderers came to them whilst they were engaged in singing, and asked, "whether they were ready to die?" and received for answer, "that they had commended themselves to God, who had given them the assurance in their hearts that he would receive their souls."—The carnage then immediately commenced. By couples they were led bound into two houses that had been selected for the purpose, and were aptly termed the "Slaughter-Houses," the men to the one, the women and children to the other, and as they entered were knocked down and butchered. A Pennsylvanian of the party conducted the slaughter of the brethren. Taking up a cooper's mallet, (the house had been occupied by a cooper,) he said, looking at it, and handling it, "How exactly this will answer for the business." With this as the instrument of death, he continued knocking down one after

the other, until he had killed fourteen with his own hands. He then handed the mallet to one of his fellow-murderers, saying: "My arm fails me; go on in the same way; I think I have done pretty well."* Of the horrors that transpired in the house of the poor women and children we have no further account, than that a woman called Christina, who had resided in Bethlehem, Pa., and could speak English well, fell upon her knees before the Captain, and begged him to spare their lives, but was told it was impossible. So ferocious had they become that they were not satisfied with simply destroying their lives, but disfigured the dead and dying bodies in a horrible manner.

Thus perished at least ninety innocent persons, of all ages—from the grey-haired sire down to the helpless innocent at its mother's breast. Leaving the houses which were now reeking with the blood and mangled remains of their victims, they went to a little distance, making merry over the horrid deed; but returning again they saw one named Abel, who though scalped and mangled was attempting to rise, and despatched him.

The whole number of the slain was ninety-six; of these some were killed before the general massacre, as Shabosh and his wife, and several who in attempting to escape by swimming the river were shot.—Several warriors were likewise killed at the same time, outside of the town. Of the whole number of Moravian Indians forty were men, twenty-two were women, and thirty-four children. Five of the men were respectable native assistants: Samuel Moore, Tobias Jones, Isaac Glickican and John Martin. Samuel Moore and Tobias had been members of the congregation of that eminently devoted servant of God and most faithful missionary, David Brainerd. After his death they left New Jersey and joined the Moravians. Samuel had received his education from Brainerd, could read and was so well acquainted with the English language, that for many years he served in the capacity of interpreter. The others, also, bore excellent characters and were very useful members of the Church. Isaac Glickican had been a sachem, and was noted among his countrymen for superior wisdom and courage.

Only two lads of fourteen or fifteen years of age effected their escape from the hands of the murderers. One of these was knocked down and scalped with the rest in the slaughter-house of the brethren. Recovering a little, he looked around, and beheld on all sides the mangled corpses of the dead. Among them he observed Abel attempting to rise, whom the white men, coming in soon afterwards, despatched.—With great presence of mind he lay quite still among the heaps of slain, and when they had departed crept over the bodies to the door, still keeping himself in such a position as easily to feign death, if any person should

*This was related by a lad who escaped out of the house, and who understood English well.

approach. As it began to grow dusk, he quickly got out at the door, hid himself behind the house until it was quite dark and then escaped. The other lad had loosed his bonds, soon after it was ascertained that they were to die, succeeded in escaping out of the house where they were confined, and crept by a small cellar window under the house where the women were subsequently butchered. Here he remained undetected, and as the butchery proceeded, saw the blood flow in streams into the cellar. He kept himself concealed till evening, when he with much difficulty made his way out of the narrow window into the woods. These two met providentially, and staying a while to watch the movements of the white party, journeyed together to Sandusky.

The Indians who were gathering corn at Schoen-brunn were saved from the fate of their brethren. They had despatched two brethren to Gnadenhuetten and Salem, carrying intelligence to them from the missionaries, on the day that the band arrived. These, on their way discovered to their great surprise the marks of horses' hoofs along and beside the path, and cautiously followed the tracks, until they found the body of Shabosh. They buried his body, and after observing that there were many white men in the village, and concluding from the fate of Shabosh that their brethren had all perished by the same cruel hands, hastily returned to Schoenbrunn. Here all took to instant flight concealing themselves in the woods for some days, on the opposite side of the river. When the murderers arrived therefore upon the following day, they might easily have been discovered; but, being struck with an unaccountable blindness, and finding no trace of Indians, they soon rode off, after pillaging and burning the village.

In the same night of the massacre the white men set fire to all the houses of Gnadenhuetten, and to the slaughter houses among the rest. The dead bodies were but partially consumed, and their bones remained to bleach in the sun until after some twenty years they received interment by friendly hands. By the light of the burning village the murderers then departed, rending the air with shouts and yells more savage than ever arose in the wilderness before, carrying with them the scalps, about fifty horses, numerous blankets and some other articles of plunder, which they exposed to public sale in Pittsburgh. On their way back they made another attack on an Indian settlement a short distance from Pittsburgh, and were partially successful.

After a journey, attended with innumerable hardships, the Indians from Schoenbrunn arrived at Sandusky almost famished, having left all their provisions behind. They returned to a dreary country, and to add to their distress, they returned to take another leave of their teachers. Well might they say with the patriarch Jacob, "All these things are against me." But they murmured not—they trusted in God, and took courage.

In conclusion, may the memory of our red brethren who at Gnadenhuetten sealed their faith with blood, ever remain; and may their pious confession of the Saviour in suffering, their meek endurance, and triumphant Christian death, bear testimony to the Truth as it is in Jesus, as long as the memory of the atrocious deed shall last.*

MORAVIAN LETTERS, 1786-1809.

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 1.

River Huron† Janry 7th. 1786.

Dear Sir;

I find myself yet in want of Bags for Your Corn having filled all what I have. I cannot just now exactly tell the Number I have, untill I shall have removed them, but all the Debts are collected, and have upwards of 700 Bush. sewed up. But I am to receive some more Corn from Mr. Zeisberger and others, for which Money is expected. Indeed I have received of an Indian to the value of 5£ in Corn which is not paid yet. The Money is to pay a Debt which was owing to Justice Williams, perhaps You know a way to settle that. I judge there will be about 70 or 80 Bush. of Corn for which hard Money is wanted. I am no

*News of the massacre at Gnadenhuetten reached Congress from various sources and that body immediately wrote the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania for authentic information and asked that an inquiry be made. Gen. Irvine started an investigation but was unable to get any satisfaction owing to public feeling. Many were in sympathy with the leaders of the raid and others called it disgraceful. See *Washington-Irvine Correspondence* by C. W. Butterfield; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, Vol. 13, page 207. A letter from William Irvine to George Washington dated Fort Pitt, April 20, 1782 (See *Spark's Letters to Washington*, Vol. 3, page 501-3) describes the scene. Irvine had been away from Fort Pitt on leave and writes: "I arrived here the 25th of March. At that time things were in greater confusion than can well be conceived. The county people were, to all appearance, in a fit of frenzy. About three hundred had just returned from the Moravian towns, where they found about ninety men, women and children, all of whom they put to death, it is said, after cool deliberation and considering the matter for three days. * * *

A number of wrong-headed men had conceived an opinion, that Colonel Gibson was a friend to Indians, and that he must be killed also. These transactions, added to the then mutinous disposition of the regular troops, had nearly brought on the loss of this whole country. I am confident, if this post was evacuated, the bounds of Canada would be extended to the Laurel Hill in a few weeks. I have the pleasure, however, to inform your excellency that things now wear a more favorable aspect. The troops are again reduced to obedience, and I have had a meeting, or convention, of the County Lieutenants and several Field Officers, with whom I have made arrangements for defending their frontiers, and who promise to exert themselves in drawing out the militia, agreeable to law, on my requisitions." Who gave the order for turning out the militia to raid the Moravian towns was never disclosed if it was discovered and the expedition has always been known as Williamson's expedition.

†River Huron, now the Clinton River, where the Missionaries and Indians had lived for four years.

ways forward in assisting anybody in demanding Money, but on the contrary try all means to put it of, yet some have no occasion for anything else, and repeat the Bargain which was made, and which I cannot deny. I therefore hope every one will be served to his satisfaction. If You please to send one by Nathan Lewis* the bearer of this one piece of Scotch Sheeting more I think that will serve me, and if I should find that I should not want it all, I would not cut it up, but return the remainder in the Spring.

I have about 3 Bush of sweet Corn for You to, which I purchased at the price You told me. Lewis will fetch me the Sheet- ing up to my House in his Carry all, but perhaps You would want the Sweet Corn immediately, and would chuse to send a Man for it yourself.

I must likewise desire You to excuse me that I sent for 3 barrels of Pork and 2 had been sufficient. But it was not my fault. I was much disappointed by a person neglecting what had been his duty, and therefore have one Barrel yet on hand which I do not see that I can sell for Corn without loss. I believe I could sell it pretty well for Sugar in the Spring, but will do nothing without Your consent, I therefore request of You to let me know, what would be most agreeable to You, to take it down to You again in the Spring or to sell it for Sugar, it is shut just as it was, never opened.

My best Wishes I beg leave to Compliment You with in The New Year, and I am

Dear Sir,
Your most Obedient
Humble Servant,

JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Endorsed.

John Askin,†
Mercht. at
Detroit.

River Huron, Jan. 7th 1786,
Mr. Heckenwelder to
Jno. Askin Recd ye 16 &
Answ. same day.

*Nathan or Nathaniel Lewis was a private in Butler's Rangers and was one of the first settlers in 1787 on the north side of Lake Erie between the creek four miles from the mouth of the Detroit River and Cedar River. In 1791 when lots were assigned to Loyalists he was a laborer on the River La Tranche (Thames). *Ontario Bureau of Archives, 1905.*

†John Askin. See note, page 27 this volume.

John Askin to John Heckenwelder.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 2.

Detroit, Jan. 16th, 1786.

Dear Sir:—

Your favour of the 7th Ins. was this day delivered me by Mr. Lewis when he Relates I will send the Sheeting to make the bags I'm Sorry for the great trouble the Collecting of the Corn must give you for which I Return you many Thanks. I will Settle the 5£ due by the Indians you mention to Justice Williams so soon as I know who it is & I will provide hard money as Soon as I can for the Others. I had not taken precaution about it so much as I would have done when I understood the Indians was not to have this in the fall & you Even did not at that time think it was Necessary, however I mean to keep my word with them and Everybody and as I suppose they will not all want their money at the same time I probably will Receive from time to time Sufficient to pay them. I thank you for the Sweet Corn it will do in the Spring & I will be glad to take the pork back as I will be out in the Spring.

I Wish you a happy new year and I'm most truly
Dear Sir.

Endorsed.
Detroit 11, Jan, 1786,
From Jno. Askin to
Mr. Heckewelder.
(Copy).

The Moravian Missionaries to Major William Ancrum.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 1, page 147.

River Huron Febr'y. 26, 1786

Sir,

It may not be unknown to You, that we the Missionaries, now Living on the River Huron were towards the End of the last War taken and carried with the Christian Indians belonging to Us to Sandusky. We were from thence called in to Detroit, where in a Councill, the Warriors present, our cause was tried, and We honourably acquitted, after which Major now Coll. DePeyster furnished us with Necessary's and a Pass to return

and Live with our Indians in Peace, but finding soon after that our Life was in Danger, he in the Spring following, sent for Us to come into Detroit. We lived formerly on the River Muskingum, where we had for Years together enjoyed Peace on all sides. We had Three large Villages and thro Industry our Indians were so far advanced, that they hardly knew or remembered of anything they wanted. Large and compleat dwelling Houses with furniture; a great Number of Horses; upwards of 200 Cattle; besides some hundreds of Hogg's, with the Corn on the Ground ripe for Harvest amounting at a moderate Computation to 5000 Bushels, were either Destroyed there, or afterwards lost. A few Days after our arival at Detroit, Coll. De Peyster consulted our welfare, and wished with Us, to see Us settled with our Indians again, that they might further be Instructed in the Gospel way. He first proposed to Us, to return over the Lake to where our Indians was, and promised evry assistance in his Power, but we being too sensible, that the same People who were the cause of our Destruction were still residing among the Indians, and of whom we had good reason to believe, wished rather the Indians might remain as they was, than to be converted or civilized would always be ready to do Us any Mischieff which lay in their Power. The Colo believing the Aprehention we were under not to be groundless, proposed next: That We and our Indians should settle down the River, either on an Island, or any other place, which might suit Us best, but as objections were made, the Island being to heavy Timbered, and the War path passing by the other places, he at length consulted the Chibbaway* Chieffs, and it was agreed upon between them, that We might Live on their Land on this River untill Peace should be made, then to return again wherever We chose. He then sent Speeches to our Indians, at and about the Shawnee Towns to invite them in, and after the arival of the first, informed them of the whole matter. We then accordingly went with those Indians in search of a place, and pitched upon the spot We now live on, which was an entire Wilderness. We begun to Work on our Improvement the 26th July 1782, and have continued so untill the present Day, in which time we with our Indians, have built a small Villiage consisting of 27 log Houses, besides some Stables, our Cellars, and smaller Buildings. We have cleared Lands in different places about the Village, made fences ect: so that it appears to Us to be a Valuable Improvement at which, if it suited our Destination, we could now live contentedly and more at ease. But we, being sent by the Bishops of our Church to reside near the Dellaware Nation, to continue to Instruct them in the Gospel, as We had done this Thirty Years past, finding this not to be the proper place, that Nation being so far distant, and they not inclined to change a good hunting ground for a

*Chippeways to whom the land belonged.

worse, neither, that the one half of the Indians belonging to Us have yet on this present Day joined Us on this very account. And moreover, We having found, that the Chibbuways become more and more Uneasy that We stay here so long on their Land after Peace. And that our Indians, whom they call expert Hunters, destroy all their Game. We therefore, have at length resolved to go to our former place, and for that purpose acquaint You of it. But at the same time We beg leave to ask a favour of You, which is: To sell our Improvement. We do not speak of selling the Land. The Chibbuways have frequently told Us that it belonged to them, and to no body else. We only mention the Improvement, in which a vast of Labour is sunk. We understand, that a number of French intend to take possession of our Houses and Labour, without giving Us the least Satisfaction, but We believe it to be far from the approbation of a Comanding Officer to see Us served in such a manner. We rather believe that You will direct matters so that Justice may be done Us in that respect. And We are persuaded, could You but take a view of this our Improvement, You would readily acknowledge, that we justly deserve something for it.

We therefore most humbly present this Petition to You, confident of receiving from You a favourable Answer.

We beg yet to mention that Necessity presses us greatly to such a request, for it is hard to begin again with empty hand.

Written and Signed by

Sir

Your most Obedt
and Humbl Servants

DAV. ZEISBERGER

JOHN HECKENWELDER

WILLIAM EDWARDS

and in behalf of GEORGE YOUNGMAN

GOTTLOB SENSEMAN

MICHAEL YOUNG absent

and in the Name of the Christian Indians

[with us

WILLIAM ANCRUM, Major*

Commandant ect:

at Detroit

Recorded in the Land Office at Detroit in Liber E. folio 12. &c
By me GEO HOFFMAN† Register

*Major William Ancrum was commissioned captain lieutenant March 14, 1772, in the 34th Foot or Cumberland Regiment and captain May 25, the same year. In 1776 his regiment was serving in Ireland. In 1778 he was serving in America and remained there for some years. He received his commission as major March 19, 1783.

†George Hoffman was the son of Christian and Anna Hoffman and was born January 29, 1783. He was postmaster at Woodstock, Va., in 1801-2 and appointed postmaster at Detroit, Mich., July 29, 1805. He was admitted to the bar after coming to Detroit, September 17, 1805, and served as collector of customs and inspector of the post at Michilimackinac in 1806. On Feb. 15, 1806, he married Margaretta Audrain, daughter of Peter Audrain. He died March 2, 1810, leaving a widow and a son, George Washington Hoffman. His widow married Col. Samuel Welles, Dec. 2 1813. See *Governor and Judges Records, Proceedings of the Land Board, 1915, page 209.*

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 1, page 149.

River Huron Febry. 27th. 1786

Dear Sir,

I would fain have mentioned to You sooner, that I had received the 30lb Coffee by Mr. Dolson,* but had no proper Opportunity—Now I am to ask Liberty, of You in proposing a way, which We think perhaps easiest and best concerning our Improvement, but it is rather to ask Your advice in the matter. We are told, that there are both French and English People watching for Us to leave the place, who immediately intend to go in Our Houses, and make themselves masters of our Labour, without the smalest reward. We therefore, considering our circumstances, (and that We have but a short time to stay, if we, as we intend, to set off as soon as the Lake is clear of Ice) know of no better method, than to lay the matter before the Major of Detroit ect. of whom we are fully persuaded to believe, that he will act impartial, and do Us justice. We therefore being acquainted with You, beg of You, to lay the case before him, and inform him; that We have lived here three Years and an half, that, when we settled first here, we found ourselves in a Wilderness, but by the Industry of about Sixty dilligent hands, have built a small Villige, consisting of 24 log Houses, besides Stables and other small Buildings. That we have cleared Lands, made fences, Gardens, ect. that We therefore cannot think otherwise, than that we ought to have liberty to sell our Labour (We do not mean to sell the Lands but the Labo^r done on them) and that we therefore beg of the Major to permit Us to do so, as we shall want what little we shall get, to help Us where We shall settle again. Perhaps the next thing then would be, to put an Advertisement up that People might see, that not only the Improvement is for sale, but that likewise it is by permission of the Comandant, which would be a great encouragement to the buyer. Mr Dolson who is here at present, and the bearer of this Letter, has a notion of buying it, but he says also, he would not do it without the Majors permission. I am convinced You will, Sir, act in our behalf as much as lies in Your power, and if You

*Matthew and Isaac Dolson, traders, lived at the mouth of the River Thames. In the fall of 1791 Matthew put two of his children in the School of the Moravians at Fairfield under the guidance of Brother Senseman. In 1798 a son was sent to the same school.

have any proposals to make to Us, concerning the matter, such shall be readily accepted, in the mean time I am

Dear Sir
Your most Obedient
Humble Servt

JOHN HECKENWELDER

P. S. If You have an answer to send to me, Mr Dolson thinks he will have an Opportunity of forwarding it to me the corse of a few Days, and as I know of no Indian going to Detroit for the present, You will greatly oblige me in sending the Letter to him. J H.

MR JOHN ASKIN
Mercht at
Detroit,

River Huron Feby 27th
1786 : Heckenwelder
To Jno. Askin

John Askin to the Moravian Missionaries.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 4.

Detroit March the 1st, 1786.

Gentlemen:

Your Letter of the 26 of last Month to Major Ancram Com-mandant of this Post I delivered and to which he desired me to give you the following Answer——

That he looks Upon Your Letter as a fair Honnest Narative of the manner in which you came to and settled at this Place and as it Appears to him that from a Wilderness by your Industry you have made a good Settlement for so short a time, he thinks it very just that your labour should not be in Vain, and in Order to Defeat the Ungenirous and mean Intentions of those who you say wait the moment of your departure to take Possession of Your Place without rewarding you for the Improvements you have made he will himself make you a reasonable recompense for what you have done and represent the matter to the Commander in Chief, added to which you will have his Pass & Protection to return to your former Place of Aboad with some Assistance to

your People—There will be a Person Appointed to take charge of Your Place when you Remove.

I am Gentlemen,
Your most Obedt.
Humble Servt.

Messrs. Ziesberger.
Heckenwelder.
Edwards & their
Brethren.

Endorsed.
Detroit March 1, 1786
Jno. Askin to Mrss.
Ziesberger Heckenwelder Edwards
& etc.

(Coppy).

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

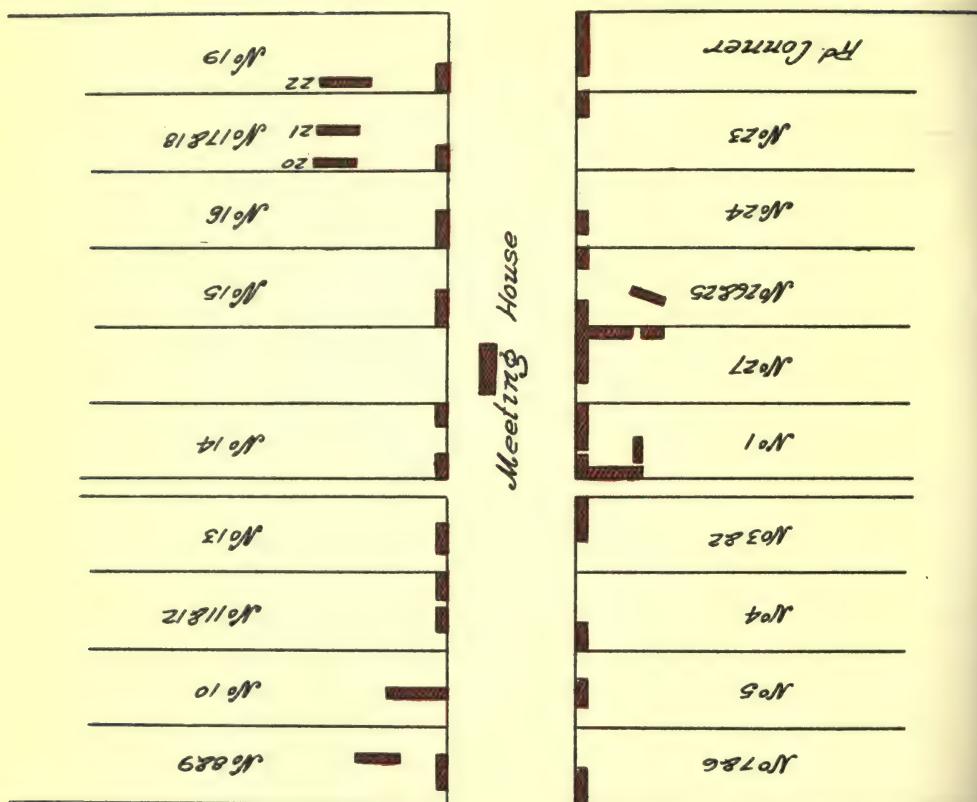
Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 3.

River Huron, March 22, 1786.

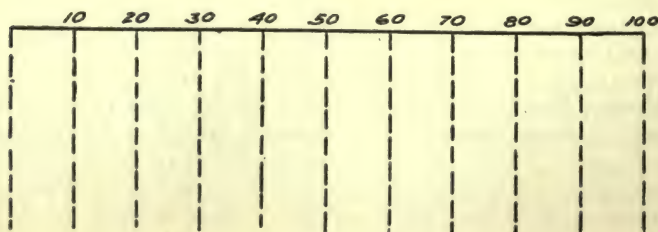
Dear Sir

I have according to Your direction shewn Mr. Bart and the other Young Man the Land and Cornfields over the River, as likewise the Houses in the Village. They like the place exceeding well, but immediately pitch'd on my House and the one in which Your Corn is, which I endeavoured to persuade them, they would hardly obtain, mentioning to them that You had told me at Detroit, and now repeated to me again, that You would reserve these 2 Houses to Yourself. They have walked about on the Land and Cornfields on this side of the River, and by what I understand they mean to do their best, and try for the 2 above mentioned Houses, with the large Cornfield in the bent, namely the field We planted, and which is in a good fence. I desired them not to decieve themselves, but rather to look at some of the other Houses, to which they at last informed me that in case they could by no means obtain the 2 Houses and Cornfield they pitch'd upon they would then satisfy themselves with the 2 opposite Houses No. 14 and No. 15 which are the Houses Mr. Zeisberger and Edwards lives in, and likewise with Land over the River

Moravian Town



Scale of Feet



Plan of Moravian Town.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 920, page 120.

References

No. 1	x	Mr. Heckewelder	best house 2 Cellars & Stable
2&3		Anna & Stephen	a double house, no outhouses
4		William Gilleways	house, indifferent
5		Mary Catharina	ditto
6&7		Mr. Bull & Jacob Abbott	Good double house
8		Lucas	a very good house
9			ditto
10		Cornelius	indifferent
11&12		Peter & Adolph	Good
13		Abraham	indifferent
14	x	Mr. Swzenberger	Good
15	x	Mr. Edwards	ditto
16		Adam	indifferent
17	x	Joshua	good
18			indifferent
19		Andrew	Good
20&21			Small but good
22			ditto
23			ditto
24			ditto
25	x		indifferent
26			ditto
27		Mr. Senseman's	very good
		now Mr. Heckewelders Store	

Endorsed on back:

1786

Map of the Houses & their Situations
in the Moravian Town when purchased by
Major Ancrum & Jno. Askin

opposite the Village—Two Rangers Lewis and Hamilton* have begun to clear Lands back of the Vilage between 2 and 3 Miles, I am not certain that it is within Your Line, but by the description I have of the Indians of the distance of the spot, I can hardly think otherwise. I have heard, that they have try'd the course by the Compass, and say it will not fall in Your Line, and if it did, they will maintain their right as the Improvers (tho this I have not heard themselves say). But be the matter as it will, I think they act very wrong, and besides, they can never be called the Improvers, since some of our Indians has built Sugar Cabbins there, and one had Deadend a Number of Trees, 3 Years ago on the Spot in order to plant Corn there. I have further heard that they shall have said: That they do not look upon a course mentioned according to the Compass, which is caled a Line, to be a line at all, neither do they see any Body warn'd from settling on any Lands hereabouts, within such or such a distance. Wheither they actually have said all this and intend to do what I have mentioned I do not know, but it is what I am told they shall have said and intend to stand to—What assistance I gave to Mr. Fry† was a pleasure to me, and I shall always be ready to assist and serve You, when it is in my Power, and had the Indians have had a better Season of the Year to have worked on the Road, they would most probably have made a very good Road, but it happened just to be at the breaking up of the Weather, and now it will hardly be possible to do much more to it till June or July, however they have done pretty well for the short time they was at it, and I thank You for Using and sattisfying them so well. I hope the Lake will soon be clear of Ice, and We should be very glad if the Corn could be fetch'd as soon as possible, so that We might make room to those who are to Live and plant here for the sooner the can go to Work, the better it is for them, and We want, if possible to put a Crop in

*There was an Andrew Hamilton, a loyalist and corporal in Butler's rangers, who petitioned for lands in the District of Hesse on the River Thames. Two hundred acres were granted to him and located Sept. 11, 1790. He made no improvements on his land and was reported as a "sham settler." In 1791 he had settled at Detroit and was receiving monthly rations from the government, having proved that he had "actually forgone an establishment in the lower districts in order to promote a settlement in the mouth of the River Detroit." He was called a laborer at the time. In 1794, he finally obtained a lot on the River Thames. *Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905.*

†Philip R. Fry (Frey) was an ensign in the Kings or 8th Regiment and was appointed Naval Store Keeper at Michilimackinac, Sept. 6, 1782. On June 2nd, 1784, he set out on a trip from Michilimackinac to Lake Superior in company with McBeath, Barthe, a carpenter and Capt. Daniel Robertson. When he learned that lands were to be distributed among the Loyalists he put in an application. In 1785 he was appointed deputy surveyor for the district of Niagara and Detroit and that same year he surveyed the lands at Malden. In 1790 he settled in the district of Nassau and in 1796 was living at Canajohary, N. Y. *Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905; Michigan Pioneer Collections; Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 3, page 214.*

the Ground over the Lake this Spring. I am convinced You will do for Us in that respect what You can.

I am

Dear Sir

Your most Obedt.

Humble Servant

JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Ans. March 22

Endorsed.

Huron River the 22.

Mr. Heckenwelder to

Jno. Askin Recd. the 23, &

Answ _____

No. 2

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 5.

River Huron April 5, 1786.

Dear Sir:

Mr. Cornwall* is going down to speak with You concerning the matter We were speaking about, and I wish You may agree. If then there should be anything You have with me, as Candles etc. I shall be obliged to You in letting me know that I make not send them off. I believe You will also assist him in representing to the Major the reason of his absence the other Day, when he ought among others to have appeared. He knew nothing of the

*John Cornwall, whom Zeisberger says came from Connecticut, was appointed to look after Mr. Askin's land after the Moravians left it and to raise corn during the spring and summer of that year. In 1790 he was living at the New Settlement at the mouth of the Detroit River. In 1792 together with two of his sons he received grants of land on the north side of the River La Tranche. He was a Loyalist and served as a private in Butler's Rangers. *Burton Historical Collections, Manuscripts Vol. 1, page 159; Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905; Zeisberger's Diary by Bliss, page 205.*

Matter till I came home. I shall now look out for Mr. Anderson* and the Vessel every Day.

I am
Dear Sir,
Your most Obedt.
Humble Servant.

[Unsigned letter from John Heckenwelder.]

Endorsed.
Mr. John Askin, Merch, t,
at Detroit.
River Huron Apr. 5, 1786.
Mr. Heckenwelder,
Jno Askin, Recd. the 6.
Answ. _____

No. 4.

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 6.

River Huron, Apr 9, 1786.

Dear Sir:

I have wrote you a Letter, or rather a kind of petition to the Major concerning our Improvements agreeable to what we was speaking of. You will be so kind and look over it, and if it answers the purpose keep or present it, but if anything should be wanting, or I had not wrote it properly, I beg of You to correct it and send it to me back again, that I might copy it off. I did for that reason not seal it, but if it answers the purpose as it is, You will Seal it or not according to Your Judgement. I suppose I must give You a Bill of Sale, but must ask you the favour of writing it and it shall be signed when we come down—Last Week a Dunker with his Son was here looking at the place, likes it very well, and thinks to find more of his profession that will join and get Farms of You. Two Men, the bearers of this were looking at the fields over the River, they tell me likewise they will rent them for a Year, and afterwards buy Farms. I hear by Them that Your Vessel has been 3 days on the Way for this place, but lays at Anchor opposite the Wind Mill, per-

*This is evidently meant for Understund (Understone). Capt. James Understone was a master in the Provincial Navy during the Revolution and as a Loyalist received a land grant. On March 30, 1791, he petitioned for land on the River Thames. Previous to this on June 5, 1784, he bought a plantation on the south side of the Detroit River near the mouth, from Jacob Schiefflin. He had business dealings with John Askin in 1799. The name is also misspelled in *Zeisberger's Diary*. *Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vols. 3, 4, 5 and 7; Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905.*

haps the Wind will soon change. I forgot to mention above, that in the Letter to the Major I chose to take a late date since at that time we were wishing to lay our circumstances in this manner before him.

I am, Dear Sir

Your most Obedt.

Humble Servt.

JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Recd. the 10th. & Ansd. 11.

Endorsed.

John Askin,

Mercht at Detroit.

River Huron Apr. 9, 1786.

Mr. Heckenwelder to

Jno Askin, Recd the 10th.

Answ ye 11th.

No. 5.

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 7.

River Huron Apr. 13th, 1786.

Dear Sir:

I have got William and several others the owners of the seven Petiagers* to take them down to You, and likewise some of the Women will send Hulling Baskets with them. The Indians who have Petiagers to sell are all in Debt and chiefly their Debts are old; but they are desirous of paying everybody they owe before they leave the place, and for that reason have desired me to beg to You to assist them. There is no one remaining in Debt to me for You, except the three in the Account, which You are to take out of the petiagers. Willm will enquire of them and inform You who they are in Debt to. We want and ought to be away from this place in the course of next Week, and chiefly on account of those People who are to settle here, and must have Houses to go in. I must detain the remaining seven Petiagers untill the Vessel arrives and is Loaded, and then immediately We intend to push off. I am glad to hear that my Letter answers the purpose, and that You find good People to live on Your Land. I think in a few Years time it will be a fine Settlement, but then You will have to get a Mill built, which will be still a greater encouragement towards settling. Mr. Cornwell

*Petiager, periager, pettiager, periagua, a canoe made from the trunk of a single tree hollowed out. Same as pirogue, perogue.

assures me he will do the best he can for You, and tells me the Land is to be laid out in Lotts very soon, which I think very needful. I am informed as I believed and told Mr. Frey; that there is no 13 Mile Tree to be found on the Road, so that the Road is one Mile shorter than We expected—I hope You have got the Seeds I sent You by Mr. Dolson Mr. Cornwell thinks it will not be amiss if he keeps the Powder and Shott yet remaining here.

I am

Dear Sir, Your most obedt. Humb. Serv.

JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Endorsed.

Mr. John Askin,
Mercht at Detroit,
River Huron Apr. 13, 1786
Mr. Heckenwelder to
Jno Askin, Recd the 15th
& Answ same day.

No 7.

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 8.

River Huron Apr. 13, 1786.

Dear Sir:

I was favoured with Your Letter Yesterday afternoon, and am sorry that I knew nothing before of Your wanting the Peringers so bad. We will endeavour to have some down by tomorrow Night, Amos Weston* has pitcked upon No. 14 and I believe the Cornfield below the Villiage. I would be glad to know wheither Mr. Cornwell might have the Hose to live in next to mine, in which Your Corn is No. 27. he asked me about it, and I told him that I had understood You intended to keep

*Amos Weston was an Englishman and a blacksmith. He had been many years with Stedman and in 1790 petitioned for a lot in New Settlement, being a United Empire Loyalist. In 1795 he had a house with a shop in it at Springwells. He died sometime in 1797 and his estate was probated, being the first probate case in the county of Wayne. John Askin was administrator. *Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 3, page 80, Vol. 4, pages 192-3, Vol. 18, pages 120, 128-138; Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905; Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. 1, page 434.*

these 2 Houses to Yourself. I'm sorry the Vessel has such bad luck, and cant come up yet, however it may be soon.

I am Dear Sir,
Your Most Obed.
Humble Servt.

JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Recd. the 14th Answered same day.

Endorsed.

Mr. John Askin,

Mercht at Detroit.

River Huron April 13th, 1786.

Mr. Heckenwelder to Jno. Askin

Recd. ye 15th. & Answd. same day.

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 9.

Huron River Apr. 17th, 1786.

Dear Sir:

At-length Captn. Understund arrived at the Mouth of the River and is now at my House. I am not at present possitive what quantity of Corn will be taken, but We have agreed to send 400 Bags down, and in case it could not be all loaded to leave the remainder at Tuckers*—The Barrel of Pork, Hog and other things belonging to You I will also send likewise Mine and Mr. Zeisbergers Fowles. You will see what is sent by the Account, and what is left with Mr. Cornwell, I will acquaint You of when I come down, which will be I hope in a few Days, as We are getting ready to go off as quick as possible. I am very sorry that You was Disappointed in getting the Number of Petiagers, and had it not been, that the Mouth of the River had been shut up for a few Days with Ice, I would have sent such of our People down who would have behaved better. I think I may venture to assure You now, that there are 7 large and well made Petiagers at this place, which no one is to have but You. I sent 2 of my Tables by the Vessel and leave one for the Use of the House. Likewise I believe the 2 fishing Canoes will be stored in the Boat, which if so, You will please to present to the Major and Adjudent Arden. I can assure You

*William Tuckar, who had been stolen when a boy by the Indians and afterwards given a grant of land by the Chippewas on Lake St. Clair between the Clinton (then the Huron) River and the Riviere Aux Vase. See *History of Macomb County, 1882, page 232.*

We are very sensible of the manifest favour of the Major towards us, and think ourselves very happy in finding him (the same as Col De Peyster,) a friend and Benefactor to Us, for whom it is our Duty to pray to God to bless abundantly, as it is not in our Power to make any other recompense—But You, Dear Sir, may be also assured, that You will never be forgotten by Us, We are, and always will be indebted to You for the favours and kindness shown to Us, and our People last Spring, and wish and pray that God may reward You in full degree for it. I am sorry that I have hardly time to write this Letter, for I have at this time much to do, and much to think of, otherwise I should have been more particular, but I trust You will excuse me and Understand what I mean, tho it may be imperfect wrote. Mr. Understund will do his best, and take as much of Your Corn and things as possible, and if We are so lucky as we wish, in getting the Vessel loaded, he may we hope have a better and quicker Voyage back than coming up. Should I forget to mention anything in this Letter, I shall mention or acquaint You by the next Opportunity or when I see You, in the meantime I remain,

Dear Sir.
Your most Obed.
Humb. Servt.
JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Endorsed.
Mr. John Askin,
Mercht at Detroit.
Huron River April 17, 1786,
Mr. Heckenwelder to
Jno. Askin Recd. April 21 —
No. 8.

John Askin to David Duncan.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 909, page 135.

Detroit April 18th, 1786

Sir

Agreeable to what we settled between us I now send the Vessell to fetch the Pork etc. I also send another Vessell to assist in taking the Moravians to their former Place of Aboad. I had some intentions of sending some Goods and establishing a house at the Cayageu but as reports have prevailed here that you were going to send Goods into the part of the country where we trade & carry of some of our traders best furs least I might be suspected to have a hand in any contraband or underhand trade is the reason why I have not sent anything. * * *

I have given the following orders on you which please discharge—

Favour Mr. Edwards for	15..13..—
favour Mr. Zeisberger for	19..19.. 6
favour of the Indians 200 dollars	80
favr. of Mr. Bull 20 dollars	8

all New York Cur. £123..12.. 6

I have only to add that I wish you health & happiness & am

Sir

your most obdt.

humble Servant

JOHN ASKIN

Mr. David Duncan*
(Copy)

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 10.

Hopes Cove,† May 28th, 1786.

Dear Sir;

About a half hour Your Barge arrived safe in this Cove where they found both Your Vessels and ourselves lying yet on account of Contrary Winds.

We had but once since our first arrival a midling fair Wind with which we made an attempt for the Grand River, but by the time we had sailed 30 Miles, the Wind turned right ahead again, and we were obliged to run back again to the Islands. We are indeed impatient to get to the main shore where our Indians may get hunting for a great many of them has been out of provision this good while, and had it not been for Captn. Underston and Gutterie‡ supplying us in a great measure with Fish, we would have been certainly in a bad Condition, there being more of us in number than 100 who all want Victuals, and the Children in particular are most troublesome in that respect. I have proposed to both Capts. whether the Mackinaw Sloop could not set part of Us on Shore at the Mouth of Sundusky, thinking it

*David Duncan and William Wilson were a firm of traders, buying for John Askin, M. Elliot and Caldwell. David Duncan was collector of customs at Michilimackinac in 1801 and 1805, and was removed from office in 1806. *Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 928, pages 189, 233, Vol. 931, page 55.*

†Hope's Cove in Put-in-Bay Island, so called because a ship named "Hope" passed the winter there, frozen in. *Zeisberger's Journal, Vol. 1, page 271.*

‡James Guthrie, captain of the Beaver. In 1799 he was planning to go to Scotland. *Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 7, page 23.*

will speed the Voyage in a gret measure, and only carry our Baggage with a few hands to the Grand River. I hope it will meet Your aprobaton. I thank You a thousand time for Your kindness in sending Us some provision. I had already served what I had of my own out to the hungry Indians. I think it would be to much. to agree to Your kind offer in sending us more provision, have consulted Mr. Zeisberger, Edwards and Ball about it, but we are of Different opinions concerning this matter. I should indeed be very sorry, should all this be at Your own expenses, but should Government, who indeed has always been very kind and acted as a father to Us do as much more for Us as to send the boat with a little more Provision, we being in a desert place on an Island and not knowing when we shall be off, at least the whole of Us, We shall indeed be very thankful and acknowledging for it. Captn. Understun has had great patience with Us, and deserves much praise, for I assure You so many Indians at all times are no agreeable Cargo in the whole. Your Boat will wait no longer, and the Vessel is getting Clear as quick as possible to return to Detroit. We thank You again for Your indeed parental Care for Us and

I am and remain Dear Sir,
Your most Obedt. Humble Servt.
JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Endorsed.

Mr. John Askin,

Mercht, Detroit.

Sandusky Island, May 28, 1786.

Mr. Heckenwelder to Jno Askin

Recd. and Answ. June 5th —

No. 9.

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 11.

Gajahoga* June 9th, 1786.

Dear Sir:

I can now inform You that We all arived safe at this place Yesterday, and the Vessel the Day before. It was indeed luky for Us, that We were got ashore by Hony Point and did not attempt to go with so many People on Board for this River, which yet, if a Wind had been but favourable while we were at the Islands, We being Ignorant of the difficulty and Danger would have gone, and most probably been knocked to pieces.

*Gayahoga also spelled Cahajahoga and now written Cuyahoga. The city of Cleveland is at the mouth of the river.

Mr. Gutterie indeed deserves much praise for the trouble and care he took, first in making 2 trips to the above mentioned Point, and lastly at this place. He will be able to give You the best Description of this River and the Danger in attempting to get in, There being not quite 3 feet Water on the Bar ect. I'm sorry to find that nobody from Fort Pitt is on this River, and that it seems Mr. Duncan has not fulfilled his promise as yet, but for what reason I know not. There is a House with about 230 or 40 baggs Flower in it 7 Miles up the River, but neither White person nor Indian to be found about the place, I understand the Flower belongs to Mr. Elliot and Colwell.*

We think of sending Mr. Bull off to Fort Pitt to enquire for Mr. Duncan and how matters are, since We have also a great deal of Cloathing lodged by our Society at Bethlehem in his hands. You will hear afterwards farther by the first Opportunity, In the meantime I and we all acknowledge all Your kind favours to Us, and shall always pray to God to bless You abundantly, I am

Dear Sir
Your most Obedient
Humble Servant
JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Endorsed.
Mr. John Askin,
Mercht at Detroit.
Gajahoga, June 9th, 1786.
Mr. Heckenwelder to
Jno. Askin Recd. the 21 —
No. 11.

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 12.

Gajahoga River, July 14, 1786.

Dear Sir:

I suppose You have heard already, that We have settled and planted a little Corn in this River, and as matters seem as yet not to be cleaverly at Rights in the Indian Country, We, I suppose may stay here some time, perhaps at least a Year or Two. At present We are pretty much pinched in the way of

*Capt. William Caldwell was born in Ireland and at the beginning of the Revolution lived in Pennsylvania. He was a "refugee loyalist" and lead the company against Sandusky when Crawford was captured and killed. He settled at Malden or Amherstburg and his descendants still live there. *History of the Girtys by Butterfield*, page 163.

Provision, but I hope we will be able to surmount this and other difficulties. We understand, that 2 paquets of Letters for Us, were sent to Detroit by People that took Cattle in for Mr. Duncan and it is likely they are left with Captn. Caldwell or at McKee.* I must beg of You to enquire for them, and send them by the first Opportunity to the Mouth of this River, (where Mr. Neil† who has the Care of Flower and Your Pork lives) It was not Mr. Duncans fault that the Pork was not out in the right time. I suppose he has mentioned all about it to You already—Perhaps I may go in the Fall down in the Country to see my Relations, but am not as yet fully determined on it.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most Obed.

Humble Servt.

JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Ansd. July 26.

Endorsed.

Mr. John Askin,

Mercht at Detroit

Gajahoga, July 14, 1786.

Mr. Heckenwelder to

Jno. Askin Recd. 26 & Answd ye 16.

No. 12

John Askin to John Heckenwelder.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 13.

Detroit Sept. 16, 1786.

Dear Sir:

I was favoured with your Letter of July in that month and it gives me great Satisfaction to hear that you and Your People are well, I think you have acted very prudently not to go farther untill you find things more Settled—

I made Enquiry about the Packett for you, Captn. Caldwell had it, and took it out with him to Sandusky and says he left

*Col. Alexander McKee, Indian agent at Pittsburg before the Revolutionary War, was imprisoned at the outbreak, at that place, but made his escape. He became Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian affairs under Sir John Johnson and was a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas at Detroit. He died January 14, 1799. His son, Thomas Alexander McKee, married Therese Askin, a daughter of John Askin. *The Diary of Mrs. Simcoe by J. Ross Robertson, Toronto 1911, page 171-172.*

†*Zeisberger's Diary, Vol. 1, pages 286-295, says that Mr. Neal became afraid of the insolence of the Indians and decided to return to Pittsburg.*

direction for you to have it sent you, I am Sorry, it did not go by some Sure hand—

We are all well and wish you Prosperity—

I am Dear Sir,

Your Most Obedt.

[Unsigned letter of John Askin.]

Endorsed.

John Askin to Mr. Heckenwelder

16th Sept, 1786.

(Copy).

David Zeisberger to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 1, page 207.

Cayehaga River October the 11th, 1786.

Dear Sir

I received your Letter of September the 16th— yesterday & am much obliged to you for it. Mr. Heckenwelder was gone to Bethlehem just a Day before your Letter arrived with his family. The Packet of Letters which Capt. Caldwell had, we received, it was opened & an Almanac & some Newspapers was wanting, which however signifies nothing, if we had all the Letters I cannot tell. I had a very bad hot fever, so as many of my people, thank God I am much better now, though hardly able to write. Only I & Mr. Edwards who has the same fever, are now here. There is much talk among the Indians about War of which they are in Apprehension. May God prevent it & give us peace.

Wishing you health & the Blessing of God I am

Dear Sir your most obdt. & humble Servt.

DAV. ZEISBERGER

(Mr. John Asking Mercht.)

Recd. Dec. 18th.

David Zeisberger to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 1, page 319.

Huron River* June 24th, 1789

Sir

Please to send me if possible by Mons. Huno two hundred Weight of flour which I will pay him for when he brings it either in Corn or what he pleases, only let me know the Prize thereof. I hereby send you The stated Rules of our Society for propogating the Gospel among the Heathen, annexed to it an Act of Assembly in the State of Pensilvania for that purpose, as you will see, and I send another which you may present to whom you please, or think to be a friend to such Understandings. Since we left Detroit our Mission has encreased much. Our Indians are almost twice the Number they were at Detroit.

Wishing you and your family much Health and Happiness

I remain Sir your most obedt. & humble Servt.

DAV. ZEISBERGER

Mr. John Asking

Hugh Holmes to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 5, page 83.

River Thames 13th. Nov., 1798.

Sir,

Not finding an Opportunity of forwarding your letter to Mr. Senseman†—I rode up to the Moravian Town and delivered it to him in person, I asked him if it required an answer, he told me no; that he had wrote to you some time ago and had fully satisfied you about the Corn which will be sent down in the Spring as soon as the vessel arrives. there has been no traders

*The Moravians moved from the Cuyahoga River to the Huron River in Ohio and there founded a new home, New Salem (Pettquotting). It was on the site of the present town Milan, Erie Co., Ohio.

†Gottlieb Senseman was born October 9, 1745, and died at Fairfield, Canada, January 4, 1800. His father was Joachim Senseman and his mother Anne Catherine. She was killed by Mahoning in the surprise, Nov. 24, 1755. In 1780 Gottlieb went to the Muskingum and was stationed at Schonbrun. He was among those forcibly taken to Sandusky in 1781 and lived on the Clinton (Huron) River and in Canada on the Thames. *Heckewelder's Narrative*, edited by Connelley, 1907, pages 216-217.

there this season therefore I apprehend there will be no difficulty in collecting all your corn.

I must inform you that my wife was cast away near the Belle River and lost all she had except the Cyder,—I cannot procure either a Boat or a Canoe to take your Corn down, and the season is so far advanced that it is dangerous to take down a load. I hope therefore you will condesend to wait till the Spring.

The Letter you sent to W. Jackman I have sent you enclosed. His brother* thinks you will find a better opportunity of sending it from Detroit, than he could from the River Thames. You will be pleased to address it To Mr. Willm. Jackman living on Cooks Run near the mouth of Little Redstone, Fayette County, State of Pennsylvania.

There is considerable Trade to be made with the Indians, there being no Trader within 12 Miles of this place.

I would like to have half a piece of Stroud and a proportionable quantity of other articles suitable, likewise a Barrel of Spirits. I shall not trust a farthing and what remains unsold I will return. I have sold some Cyder but the Indians will not buy it while they can get Whisky, neither will they buy whisky when they can get Rum.

If you can supply me with the above articles (which I hope I will be able to pay you for without any difficulty) please to let me know by the bearer John Kennedy who intends to put up at Carpenters.

I remain your Humble and Obt. Servt.

HUGH HOLMES†

John Askin Esquire
Merchant Detroit.

William Dealy to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 5, page 69.

Mereven Townen‡ November the 23, 1798

Sir,

I Request the feavour of your honour to send me by the bearer fourteen pounds nine shillings N Y C that I have advanced to the people that assisted me in seaveing the Property

*There was a Richard Jackman who petitioned for a lot on the north side of the River Thames and received a grant June 21, 1793. *Ontario Bureau of Archives, 1905, page 233.*

†On the 2nd of July, 1790, Hugh Holmes petitioned the Land Board of the District of Hesse for land on the river La Tranche (Thames). His occupation was a farmer. He received a grant, found it unfit for cultivation and returned the certificate. *Ontario Bureau of Archives, 1905.*

‡Moravian Town, the settlement of the Moravians on the Thames River. Charles Askin describes it in a "Journal of a Journey from Sandwich to York in the Summer of 1806," *Ontario Historical Society, Vol. 6, pages 15-20*: "This town, I think, is about thirty miles from the entrance of the river, finely situated on a high bank, on the north side of the river; the opposite side of the river the soil is better and is what the Indians cultivate."

of the United States which the sergent has seen the recite, please to demand this of Colonel Strong.* I have sent you a power of attorney hoping that your honour will not take my boldness in Evil part. If this feavour is not granted me it will expose me which I would not for ten times the sum and my watch I am in great need of for I work by night. The bond that Mr. Gouewey† is security to your honour. I will have no other need of troubling of your honour until I bring your vessel to the Detroit. I forgot to mention Mr. Hurd as he is my chief evidence in affair

I am your honour

Humble servant

WILLIAM DEALY‡

John Askin Esqr
Detroit.

Gottlieb Senseman to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 5, page 92.

Fairfield,§ Dec. 1st, '98

Sir,

A few days ago I was favoured with your obliging Letters, accompanied with some foreign Letters for me, in your care, for which I return you my sincere Thanks, as much as I know, all my Letters send to me, by your care, have arrived safe; I should be very happy if I could send now and then a Letter with the Post from Detroit to Philad. but I am at a loss to whom I should send it. perhaps you may not stay long there, or els I don't doubt you would do me the Favor to put on in the Post, if there is any postage to be paid in Detroit, I am willing to pay it.

Your corn here, owing to you by our People, they are collecting allready. I have appointed an trusty Indian to collect & measure it, & keep a true account; who has also a proper house

*See note, page 41 this volume.

†Probably intended for Gouie. Robert Gouie was a British subject and after living on the American side of the Detroit River for some time, moved to Sandwich. He was engaged in trade with the Indians, Gabriel Hunot being his agent. He was in Major Baby's company of militia in 1805 and during the war of 1812 served in Capt. Pierre Labute's company. He owned private claim 670 in Springwells. *Governor and Judges Records, Proceedings of the Land Board, 1915, page 222.*

‡William Dealy (Daly) was a ship carpenter and contracted to build Mr. Askin a boat in the winter of 1798-99.

§The Moravian Town on the Thames was first called "Fairfield" on Nov. 16, 1794. It was founded in 1792. *Zeisberger's Journal, Ontario Historical Society, Vol. 12, page 193.*

to store it. Your Account, you send me, agrees with that, Mr. Nichol your late Clark, left here at my house.

About the Tea, which he left with J. Henry, which was 23 d. he has sold but a little of it, which account he brought to me, before he went from here to Muskingum, which I have added to every ones Account, as they had not paid him, the rest of the Tea he sent to you according to your Desire. I think that you will recollect that you wrote a Letter to me late last Spring, and desired me, that J. Henry should send the rest of the Tea down to you, as you were then in great want for Tea, accordingly he did, and I myself have helped him packing up the Tea; if you have received the Tea I cannot tell. One Mr. Wm. Daly has been here, he tells me, that he is going to build a small vessel for you this Winter, above us at the Pinery,* he further told me, that he will be down with the Vessel early in the Spring by the first Flood, and then your Corn can be put in the Vessel, he will carry it to Detroit to you for 18 Pence Buhl. If the man is to be depended on, it would be the safest Way for you, getting your Corn in Time; but if not, I see no other Way, but that you send a small Vessel or large Boat early in the Spring, our People will bring it down near the Mouth of the River to the Vessel for one Shilling pr Buhl. which they always received from our Town to Mr. Dolson's Place; with these small canoes they do not like to venture over the Lake with so much Corn, as it is dangerous by Stormy Weather; the Amount that you have to get, comes to about 460 Buhl. at 6/ p Bushl. I have taken the Pain of making an exact Calculation of every ones Debt, what quantity of Corn he has to pay at six shillings pr. Buhl. and I shall be circumspect about it, that all shall be paid.

I have only to add that I am with much Esteem

Your most obed. and very humbl Servt.

G. SENSEMAN

Dear Sir—

Excuse Errors I wrote in hast.
Mr. John Askin Esq.

Detroit

Pr. Favor of Mr. M. Dolson at Dover.

*The Pinery was land along the River Thames covered with pine woods in which at a later date several saw mills were erected. Askin describes it in his journal, "All these mills are fine mill seats, as the fall of water is great, the banks being very high." It extended through several townships including Delaware and London. *Ontario Historical Society, Vol. 6, page 16.*

John Askin to Rev. G. Senseman.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 5, page 99.

Detroit 10 Decem. '98.

Reverend Sir—I am this day favoured with your very obliging letter dated the 1st Instant & return you many thanks for the pains you are taking, to have what's due me by your people collected and I will pay the person you have employed to receive & store my Corn whatever you think right respecting the transport here. If the man who is to build my Vessel here has her ready in time it will be best both for him and me as I can allow him one shilling pr Bushel for so doing which will be clear gain for him. Mr. James Henry did return me the Tea that remained. I had not forgot it. I am glad the letters for you, thro' my care have always got so safe, any you may have to send I will take charge of, and tho' there is no regular Post yet there is frequent opportunities, and I'm sure the Colonel* or Quarter Master† of this place will forward any letters I may give them, with pleasure, besides I know they have a great liking to your people in general, and many of them are acquainted with Mr. Hackenwelder.

The 6/ per Bushel allowed your people on the spot I believe is a very fair price. Corn is by no means scarce here & I think it will hardly fetch 8/ any time between this and the new crop.

I remain etc

The Rev. Mr. G. Sensemann
Riv. Thames.

Friend

J. ASKIN.

P. S. I Inclose John Henry say Cristian Henry's Orders on you for 7 1/2 Dollars which I have Chrd. to your Account.

(Copy)

G. Senseman to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 5, page 182.

Fairfield Feby. 9th. '99

Dear Sir—Your Corn due to you by our Inds. is chiefly all collected and stored; the Indn. whom I appointed to measure and store it, tells me that he received nigh 500 Bhl. and to my own Calculation the Total due to you, comes to above that Sum or quantity. I shall use my best Endeavors, that all shall be

*Col. David Strong and Assistant Quarter Master Elias Wallin.

paid; some Indians, as you know yourselves are little concerned about making Payment; without the Creditor himself is present, and peremptorily demands it. There are but very few left, of whom I know, that they are bad Paymasters, two of them promised me, to bring their corn themselves down in the Spring, and I shall remind them of it at the Time.

Mr. Wm. Dealy promised to bring the Corn down in the Spring, in the new Vessel, he is a building for you, but I am a little afraid it will be laid, as I have been held. his work goes on but slowly; I shall write to him, and hurry him on; and I wish very much you would do the same, that you might receive your Corn at the proper Time, and as early as possible;

I have received not long ago a Letter from Mr. Nichol your late Clark; wherein he mentions to me, that he has entrusted a few Goods to Lodwick, one of our Inds. when he was here last; the Payment for which he shall deliver to you; (they were his own Property) I acquainted the Indian of it, and he is willing to do it. It makes 25 Dollars.

I would likewise desire you, to send me my Account, as I had a few Articles from Mr. Nichol when he was here with Goods; the Account I had for it, I have lost among my Papers; you will be so good, as excuse the Forbearance of the Payment, as I not come to Town so frequently, as I formerly did, or els I should have paid it before now.

I am with due Respect

Dear Sir

Your most Obedt. & Humbl. Servt.

G. SENSEMAN

Mr. John Askin Esq.
Detroit

John Askin to Rev. G. Senseman.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 5, page 192.

Detroit 14 Feby. '99

Reverend Sir

I am just favoured with your letter dated 9th Instant, and am very much obliged to you for the pains & Care you have and are taking respecting what is due me by the Indians. I fear Mr. Dealy will be late with the vessel, therefore agreeable to your advice now write him. I yesterday recd. a letter for you & am happy to have so good an opportunity of forwarding it. I wrote you not long since by young Henry. I trusted the Indians with him for a few things by his desire and for the payment

of which he became accountable, I suppose he will deliver it in with the rest.

In conformity to your wishes I now send you your acct—my favor £12. 6. 9. It's a matter of no consequence when paid.

I have charged you in it the Postage of a Letter directed to Mr. Zeisberger. If wrong take it from the account.

(Unsigned.)

Copy of letter of John Askin to Rev. Mr. Sensemann.

G. Senseman to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 6, page 15.

Fairfield Apl. 19th., 1799

Dr Sir—

I am at a loss now, how to forward your Corn to you, which is due to you by our People and was collected some time ago. I have not been at Home, when Mr. Dealy came here with his Vessel, and was told after I came home, that the Vessel was not fit to take in Corn; even Mr. Luz who hath some corn in, advised Mr. Young* not to send your Corn along, and that he intends to dispose of his Corn, which is about 300 Buhl., here on the River, if he possibly can without sustaining great Loss, as he is sure of, the vessel will take in a great Deal of Water on the Lake, if it should be a little stormy, for she was neither corked nor pitched sufficiently, and then Mr. Dealy could hardly take in two hundred Buhl. and there is above 500 B. here for you. I hear there is a Vessel to come soon to fetch Corn from Mr. Uquhart to Detroit, perhaps that Vessel could take it in, but then our People must bring the Corn down there, for which carriage they allways receive one Shilling a Bushel; for our People to carry the Corn in their Canows to Detroit it is impossible but if it is all the same to you, and you can wait till the Vessel for Mr. Abbott† is done, which I am told, will be some time in May or June, the Inds. will bring it down, which is at Mr. Dolsen's. If you will communicate to me your Intentions & Descitions, I shall do what lies in my Power.

*Probably Michael Jung, who was born in Alsace in 1743 and immigrated with his parents to America in 1751. They joined the Moravian Church at Broadbay, Maine. In 1781 he was called to serve an Indian Mission and labored among the Indians 33 years. He was one of the missionaries at Fairfield at the time of its settlement. In 1813 he retired to Litiz, Pa., where he died Dec. 13, 1836. *Zeisberger's Life and Times by de Schweinitz.*

†The Abbotts were among the wealthy and influential people of Detroit. James Abbott died before July 25, 1800, leaving six children. His will was dated May 28, 1799. He had three sons, Robert (1772-1852), James (1774-1858) and Samuel (1775-). *Governor and Judges Records, Proceedings of the Land Board, 1915, page 164.*

When the Corn is a going from here I shall send you the Accounts, there is a few who have not payed of entirely, but it shall be done yet

I am with due Regard Dr Sir

Your very Humbl. Sert.

Mr. Jn. Askin Esq.
please excuse Errors
being in much haste

G. SENSEMAN.

G. Senseman to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 6, page 73.

Fairfield Jun. 3d., 1799

Dr Sir—The Bearer Lodwick is a coming down, he is the Man, who has collected & stored your Corn, which makes by my Calcution 456 Buhl. When all the Corn is delivered, I shall send you the Account of all who have paid and those who are still in debt to you, by all my Endeavors I could not get it all, as I wished, but they have promised to pay, if not this Sumer, certainly next Winter, two or three will come down & pay you there. I want to persuade Lodwick to stay till all your Corn is gone, but he seems to be in great Hurry, for I told him that Mr. Askin will not be willing to pay him, before he has received the Corn; I am waiting every day for your men to fetch the Rest for I am afraid the Corn may get damaged, by the warm Weather, for all it lies on a Floor, yet that Floor lies close to the Ground, where it gets damp, as the Indian have Houses of one Story, which have no Lofts.

Lodwick has also to settle with you an Account which concerns Mr. Nichol your late Clerk, he has given him a few Goods, for which he still owed him 16 Dollars and has received his Orders to pay it to you, which he tells me, he will pay to you now part in Peltry and part in Corn.

You will know best Sir what to pay to Lodwick for his Trouble; I asked him about it, he told me, that Mr. Dolsen who got this Year above one Thousand Buhl.—from here, paid the Man who collected and stored it, six Pence for one Buhl., which he thinks he ought to have, to which I answered I have nothing against, if Mr. Askin is willing to pay.

What I have forgot to mention shall follow in my Next. Meanwhile

I am Dr. Sir

Your sincere Friend
& humbl. Sert.

Mr. John Askin Esq.
Detroit.

G. SENSEMAN

G. Senseman to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 6, page 101.

Fairfield Jun. 18th, 1799

Dr Sir—

I received your kind Letter a few Days ago, by Lodwicks return. It is a great Pity your Battoe is not in the River now, as the Water is high enough at present for any Battoe to come as far as our Place, as there fell some heavy Rains higher up the River and swelled it up considerably. I am not a little concerned about your Corn, by this hot & sultry Weather, as it lies in a small House, where it cannot well be stirred and throwed about, as it ought to be; but however I made Lodwick more circumspect about it, and made him take out a Quantity, to make more Place for stirring the Rest. I look out every Day and Hour for your People with the Boat, for I am afraid that much longer Delay will damage the Corn; if it was in Bags, it could be heaped up so that it could not easily receive any hurt; and I was sorry, that I did not write to you in my last to send with Lodwick about 80 or 90 Bags.

Any Battoe may come up this River in the Sumer Season as far as to Mr. Field's* Mill, which is about 13 Miles below us, and may go from there loaden back again, but from here it must be carried there in Canows, or very tight Boats; but at present any Boat may come up here.

With an anxious wish of soon seeing your Boat here

I am Dr. Sir

Your much obliged &
very humbl. sert.

G. SENSEMAN

Mr. John Askin Esq.
Detroit

*Capt. Daniel (also called Donald) Fields was captain of militia on the south side of the River Thames in 1796. He had a flour mill before 1795. *Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 4, pages 12, 23, 105.*

G. Senseman to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 6, page 167.

Fairfield River Thames, July 23th., '99

Dr. Sir—

According to your Request I have spoken with Mr. Traxler,* and I found him willing to store your Corn in his new House, till such time you fetch it from there, but as the River is so low at present, that it is hard and difficult to be brought there from here, so I got the Indn. to replace about one hundred Bushel, to be more to Air, to prevent it from getting damaged.

The dry Season this Year gives me but a poor Prospect for a good Crop of Corn, still we hope, if soon rainy Weather comes on, it may come to yet.

Wishing you Joy and Happiness with your Family

I remain Dr Sir

Your sincere Friend &
most humbl. Sert.Mr. John Askin Esq.
Detroit.

G. SENSEMAN

Benjamin Mortimer to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 6, page 200.

Goshen on Muskingum 14 Aug. 1799

Dear Sir

At the desire of Mr. Zeisberger I beg leave to recommend to your friendly attention, the bearer of this, the Rev. Mr. Appelt,† who is going as missionary of the United Brethren to reside with Mr. Senseman on Thames river. We shall be much obliged for any kindness you may shew him & Mrs. Appelt.

*In 1791 Peter Tractley petitioned for land and the next year received a grant on the south side of the River La Tranche. John Askin tried to get a warehouse at the mouth of the River Thames in 1800 and wrote him for one of his buildings. He spelled the name "Traxler." Charles Askin in his "Journal of a Journey in 1806" speaks of dining and feeding his horse at Mr. Traxelers. *Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 7, page 201; Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905, pages 145, 202.*

†Gottfried Sebastian Oppelt was associated with Christian Denke in 1802 in preaching to the Chippewas in Upper Canada. In 1804 he went with a company from Fairfield and began a mission on the Pettquotting near the site of New Salem. *Zeisberger's Life and Times by de Schweinitz, pages 660-663.*

Mr. & Mrs. Zeisberger and Mr. Edward unite with me in best respects to Yourself and family.

I am with much esteem

Dear Sir

Your most obedt. humbl. Sert.

BENJ. MORTIMER*

John Askin Esq.

Detroit

By favor of the Revd. Mr. Appelt.

G. Senseman to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 6, page 207.

Fairfield Aug. 18th, 1799

Dear Sir

I was favoured with your kind Letter of the 2d. Inst. by Saml. White some Days ago; previous to his return 120 Buhl. of Corn went down the River to Traxlers, by Lodwick, as the River from the Rain has risen, I hurried them on. There was still 128 Buhl. left, which Saml. White and the others whom you have paid for allready at Detroit, have taken down there; so that all your Corn is now at Traxlers. I have paid Lodwick part for his Trouble for taking Care of the Corn this Sumer, shoveling it about sometimes, & replacing some, & the Carriage of the 120 B. to Traxlers, but there is still 5 Dollars coming to him, which he will receive at your Store.

Inclosed I send the Acct. of the People who have paid, & of those who are still indebted to you; I endeavoured all in my Power to get in the whole, & also had the promise for the whole, but was at last by some disappointed, however they promised again sure Payment by the next Crop; those who have not payed, you may account for bad Paymasters.

Saml. White & Anthony have told me, that they would pay, or settle with you at Town, I dont know wether they have done it or not, Beau tells me that he has paid Jn. Henry the Dollar he owed you in Cash, the Time he set of from here to Muskingum, with the Order to give it to you. The four Indn. viz. Joseph, Daniel, Jn. Adam, & Chr. Gottlieb or Henry, who came

*Benjamin Mortimer was born in England. He came to Fairfield with Heckenwelder in 1798 and in October of the same year, together with Zeisberger and some Indians from Fairfield he founded Goshen. Later he became pastor of the Moravian Church in New York City where he died Nov. 10, 1834. *Zeisberger's Life and Times*, by de Schweinitz, page 648; *Heckenwelder's Narrative*, edited by Connelley.

back from Muskingum last Winter; and have at the same Time taken a few Things at your Store on trust, have paid here in Corn, which you will see on the Acct. Chr. Henry likewise has paid 10 Buhl. Corn for the £3 he owed you, and for which you have charged me, as I found it on my Acct. for which you will give me Credit. (I never gave him an order for it).

It would be very much to my Mind & Wish, if you would think it worth while for you, to have a Store here on the River, as at Traxlers; most of the Inds. here would wish it, & be glad for it; you might make in the first a Trial; that Distance the Inds. could bring their Corn, Peltry & other Produce easily. And till there any Boat or Craft can come at any Time.

You would do me a great Favor, if your People, when they come up with the Boat to fetch your Corn, could bring a Barrel of Salt along for me, which I have at Mr. Huntington's* in Town. I would willingly pay for, they would leave it at Mr. Traxlers.

Also I wish you could send me one or two Quires of your gilded Paper, the same you comonly write your Letters to me, if you have any to spare, I forgot it entirely when I was at Town; you may send it with the Bearer. I have no more at the present to add, only that I am

Dear Sir with Sentiments of

much Respect

Your huml. Sert.

G. SENSEMAN

John Askin Esq.
Detroit.

John Askin to Rev. G. Senseman.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 6, page 233.

Detroit 28 August, '99

Reverend Sir

Your very kind letter dated the 18 instant reached me today, covering an account of what Indians had paid, & who were still in Debt, I am certainly under very great obligations to you, for the great pains & trouble you have taken & will at all times be ready to return your kindness, I have made out a new statement of just what your people owe me, & have taken the liberty of sending it to you as a check on their conduct, should those that

*Benjamin Huntington (1777-1850) was a merchant in Detroit for a few years but left in 1802 to become a merchant in New York City. He married Faith Trumbull Huntington, daughter of Gen. Jedidiah Huntington. He finally became a well known banker in New York. *Prominent Families of New York.*

now owe, not incline to pay after the crop is ripe. I mean for certain to set up a store at Mr. Trackseller's & to send goods there so soon as they arrive, which cannot be long & I thank you for the encouragement you give. I'm sure the person who intends going, will do your people the strictest Justice. I will pay Lodwick the 5 dollars you say is yet due him, and will be glad to know how much you have given him for taking the 120 B. corn to Mr. Trackseller's, shoveling the corn about & taking care of it in the summer so that I may repay you. For his first rescuing & storing it, I gave him the 26 dollars he owed Mr. Nicholl. I have credited you for the £3 which were charged on Christian Henry's account, by the Boat that goes up with my Goods I mean to fetch the Corn away which will save expenses, & by her send you the salt you have at Mr. Huntington's. All my gilt paper is out, but I send you a Quire of such as I now write on folded in two, to see if it will answer. If not I will purchase gilt for you.

Signed J. A.

John Askin to Rev. Senseman

Copy.

Gottfried Sebastian Oppelt to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 7, page 178.

Fairfield Dec. 14th, 1799

Sir

The kindness, you showed me, when I was in Detroit & the kind offer of your service, I received from you, gives me the confidence to trouble you with a Commission. I have here a letter of some importance, which I should send so soon as possible. You would oblige me very much, if you would send it, by the first Opportunity to the Post. Mr. Senseman is very sick* on the consumption & we expect his departure very soon. He sends his last Compliments to you and all his friends in Detroit. I beg the favor of you to acquaint with it Mr. Huntington, as I understand, Mr. Senseman had some Dealings with him, that are not settled. I shall take care to settle it next Spring, where I shall have the pleasure to see you also in Detroit.

I am Sir your humble Servant

GOTTFR. SEB. OPPELT.

To John Askin, Esq.
Detroit

*He died January 4, 1800

Gottfried Sebastian Oppelt to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 8, page 66.

Apr. 21st. 1800

Sir

Your Letter of the 16th Febr. I received in March. Ludwig died last year, therefore I spoke with Jacob, to collect the corn, what Our people owe you, but we couldnt find the Account you sended to Mr. Senseman & our People were all on their Suggar Camps. Therefore, we couldn't do much.

Jacob is, I think, the best man for it & better than Ludwick, because he is a sober man, can speak a little English, hath a good House to keep the corn & his son can write a little. He collected 153 1/2 bush. which Mr. Barthy takes down. He will also sell the goods, you sended by Mr. Barthy & I will assist him as much as I can. The price of the Salt seems to be very high, because they can get it here the Quart for 2 shillings. We send you by Mr. Barthy 13 1/2 bush. Wheat. Be so kind to give Mr. Senseman credit for it. When I come down I will settle the Rest. I send also some flower seeds for Mrs. Askin, which I promised when I was in Detroit. I would be very glad, if I could get some little Rosetrees, when Mr. Barthy comes a second time.

I have Ludwicks Account, but it will be very hard to find it out, who took the goods. His poor Widow dont know it, she told me, she must pay the rest, but it will be very hard for her.

My Compliments to Mrs. Askin.

I am with due Respect

Sir

Your most obedient Servant

GOTTFR. SEB. OPPELT

Mr. John Askin Esq.

Detroit

Fairfield April 21st, 1800

The Reverend Gottfr. Seb. Oppelt

To John Askin Recd. ye 24th

Ans. Apl. 27, 1801.

Benjamin Mortimer to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 8, page 144.

Goshen, Moravian Indian Town
River Muskingum 12 Aug. 1800Mr. John Askin,
Dear Sir,

The bearer of this is my worthy friend the Rev. Mr. Dencke, who arrived here lately from Bethlehem, and is going to reside as Indian missionary on the River Thames. You, my dear Sir, we have the best cause to regard as a sincere friend and well wisher to the good cause in which he is engaged. As such, on the rare mention of his name & character to you, you will I am sure be happy to render him any civility in your power. I flatter myself also, that on acquaintance, he will acquire your personal esteem. He is desirous to apply himself with zeal to the study of the Chippeway as well as of the Delaware language, with the benevolent intention of endeavoring to make that benighted, heathen nation acquainted with the saving truths of the gospel. The loan of a vocabulary of Chippeway words or any other assistance or advice to promote the speedy acquisition of their language, will be particularly acceptable to him.

Mr. & Mrs. Zeisberger & Mr. Edwards* unite with me in best respects to yourself, Mrs. Askin & family.

I am very truly

Dear Sir

Your most obdt. Servt.

BENJN. MORTIMER

John Askin Esqr.

Detroit

By favor of Revd. Mr. Dencke.

John Askin to Major William Ancrum.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 8, page 192.

Detroit June 29th 1796

Sir

Tho I have not had the pleasure of receiving a Letter from you these many Years I have made it my Business to enquire of every Gentleman who had seen or heard of you at home how you & your good Family were & it made me happy to hear in general that you were all well——

*William Edwards was born in Wiltshire, England, April 24, 1724, and died at Goshen, Ohio, October 8, 1801. In 1798 he and Heckenwelder brought a portion of the congregation from Fairfield back to the Muskingum. *Heckenwelder's Narrative*, edited by Connelley, page 267.

In a very few days the Americans will take Possession of this Fort, & from every Information I can get, I Understand they are very unfavourable to Indian Grants, however as I do not mean to give up your pretentions or mine to the 4,000 acres of Land on the River aux Huron formerly where the Mauravians lived, I should be glad to bring forward the best authority in my Power for making the Purchase & as I understood from you that you once wrote the late Lt. Gov. Hope* on that subject & had a favourable answer If you are Still possessed of that Answer & will Send it to me it may perhaps be the means of preventing our Loosing Sd— Land which probably will Soon be valauble or if you have any other papers or matter to advance to Strengthen our Claim I Should be glad to have them—Gov. Sinclair† I understand is to reside here

Mrs Askin's Compts to Mrs Ancrum

I am

Sir

Major William Ancrum

34th Regt

near dublin

Ireland

your &c

(Signed—JOHN ASKIN

Detroit Augt 22d 1800

Sir The foregoing is the Duplicate of a Letter I wrote and to which I have not had any Answer. The Claims to Indian Land are not yet decided on, but Commissioners for that purpose is Expected next Spring or Summer before which time I hope to have your Answer. Conner keeps Possession of the whole but if the United States proves favourable to our Purchase, I will soon set the Lawyer at him. before it would be needless. Your old friend M. Leithe is here to him I will give this Letter in charge & I dare say he will be able to have it convoyed to you in Safety. Of your old Acquaintances here I only know of Colonel McKee, M Sharp & Mr Abott Dead.

I remain with real regard

Sir

your most obedt.

very Humble Servt.

J: A

*Lieut.-Gov. Henry Hope was a member of the Legislative Council and assumed the government in 1787, pending the return of Lord Dorchester from England. He died at Quebec on the 13th April, 1789. *Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905, page cxv.*

†Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Northwest Territory. See note, page 58 this volume.

John Askin to the Reverend Mr. Oppelt.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 9, page 83.

Detroit November 16th. 1800

Reverend Sir

Your obliging letter dated the 28th of last month did not reach me before yesterday, and I fear much that its now an improper time to send for my corn owing to the water being too low in the river and the expectation that it might freeze up before the boat could go and return therefore I beg you will get Jacob to take all the care he can of the corn so as it does not get spoiled and I will pay him honestly and fairly for his trouble.

I assure you sir I am very far from blaming you for the mistake that has happened by selling my goods for corn (I meant them for wheat only) but if exchanged for the four shillings was a very high price, for I assure you that Mr. Mackintosh sold it here last winter for that price & I have not heard of any selling since for more than 5/ and I can get for 4/ today I'm sure therefore as it was a mistake and the Indians know it must have been so. Honest people among them should make up the difference as I would do to them was the mistake in my favour, however I only told Jacob to tell them that, not that I can nor mean to force them, but as they know I have always been their friend and dealt honestly by them they should do the same by me. I am sure you will be so good as to advise them after which let them do as they please.

I'm sure the fault must have been with Mr. Barthe tho' he denies it. I give you my word my directions to him was to change the goods for wheat or skins or to bring them back.

I beg you will not let any more of the goods be sold, untill you hear further from me about them, and if its not too much trouble write me what remains.

I'm in hopes you will be down some time this fall or winter and then I will let you see what the Indians owe me.

I have now to thank you for the trouble you have taken and if I can render you any service here please command

Reverend sir

Your most obedient

Humble Servant

[Unsigned letter from John Askin.]

P. S. Please present my compliments to Mrs. Oppelt
The Reverend Gottfried Oppelt

Major William Ancrum to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 9, page 222.

London 23d March 1801.

Dear Sir,

I was favor'd with your letter of the 22d Augt. 1800, about three months ago, after it had travell'd, I believe, all over England, Ireland, and Scotland—and it at last reach'd me by mere accident here in London.

The copy of the letter it contains, dated 29th June 1796, I never receiv'd; or I certainly shou'd most punctually have answer'd it.

The subject on which you have written those letters (the purchase of our lands from the Moravian Missionaries and Indians settled on the Huron River) I am but ill prepar'd at present to answer, to give all the satisfaction I cou'd wish, as all my papers are in Ireland. But as soon as we had made this Purchase from the Missionaries and Indians, I immediately acquainted Genl. Hope of it, and receiv'd a very favorable answer, assuring me that we shou'd not be interrupted in it, and, I think, I either shew'd you this letter, or mention'd the contents to you. And when I went down to Quebec, I mention'd the matter very particularly to General Hope himself: And I remember very well his answer; which was, that tho' Government in general, was not favorable to such Grants, but that as we had been at a very considerable expence in this Purchase, and on the lands afterwards; (And also paying me some compliments on my conduct during my Command at Detroit, which I don't choose to mention) that on this Occasion the Grant shou'd be look'd upon as valid. And, I think, I wrote to this purpose to you from Quebec before I sail'd for England, but of this I cannot now be certain, after so long a space of time.

I shall certainly hope that those Gentlemen, the Commissioners when they come to settle those claims, can have no objection to this of ours, so fairly purchas'd: And which at the same time was a great Act of humanity and justice to those Missionaries and Indians; in re-imbursing them for the expences they had been at in their Buildings, and clearing the lands, and a reward for their labour; and which otherwise must have been a total loss to them, on leaving the spot.

You have all the papers respecting this purchase with the Missionaries & Indians; Specifying the Sums we paid, and Sign'd by all the Missionaries, and also the Chiefs of Indians, I believe as also a Correct Survey of the lands taken by Mr.

Fry which cost us likewise some money. I have also a Copy of that Survey.

From all those circumstances, I can make no doubt of our being perfectly Establish'd in our right—tho' regret not having it in my power to have recourse to my Papers and correspondence with General Hope, which I cannot have at present.

Pray, who is this Mr. Conner who you mention to be in possession of those lands at present? I never heard of this circumstance before.

As I cannot doubt of the justice of the Commissioners of the United States, and their clearly deciding in favor of our claim; I expect this Mr. Conner will be speedily dispossess'd.

I request my best Regards to all my remaining friends with you—I am very sorry to hear of the death of some. With best Respects to your family, I am, with much Regard, & Esteem

Your Sincere friend, & Hum. Servt.

WM ANCRUM

P. S.

As I cannot at present exactly say where I may be when you may next write to me Direct to, Park-house Old Brompton near London—and it will be forwarded to me.
(Superscribed)

Mr Askin
Detroit.

Recorded in the Land Office at Detroit in Liber E. folio 9. &c
[By me
GEO HOFFMAN
Register

John Schnall and Christian Fr. Denke to Solomon Sibley.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 920, page 127.

Fairfield, June 7, 1806

Dear Sir!

The bearer of this, our trusty & well behaved Indian Jacob, is dispatched, merely on account, to have a safe conveyance to receive the cash from You, as our mutual circumstances will not permit, for either of us to appear personally.

Inclosed You receive the duplicate draughts, which according to Your kind promise, You will be pleased to accept, & discharge the same, the amount of both is £60. We are in great need for cash, & are totally exhausted.

We beseech You, to have the complaisance of forwarding Jacob, as soon as possible, he being in a hurry.

Provided we receive the cash of You, we have wrote an order on You, in favor of Mr. Moses David of Sandwich for £20—..— which You will be pleased to accept, & on demand pay him. You are immediately to deduct the amount of the order, from the cash or draughts, & will have the kindness to drop a line to Mr. David & sent the same across pr. Jacob, acquainting him, whether or not You have accepted our draughts & reserved the cash towards paying his order, the amount of £20—..—.

If Mr. Bates* has any account against us, for postage, You will be pleased to answer the same, take your pay, & sent in the bill & receipt.

If duly perused the books of Mr. Denkey,† You will be pleased to return them pr this opportunity, as likewise any letter or parcel for us, having come to Your hands. The late papers were duly received & perused with satisfaction & we beseech You to continue, to send us from time to time some papers for perusal.

Seeing occasionally our good friends, in Your neighborhood, You will be kind enough to express our good wishes for them, & inform them of our welfare. Mrs. Schnall has been brought to bed the 26th. of Aprill, by which occasion their family received a supply, by an infant daughter.

Mrs. Schnall & Mrs. Denkey join us, in expressing our best wishes & compliments, to You, for Your further weal.

We are & sincerely remain unchangeably

Your true friends & most humble Servants

JOHN SCHNALL
CHRISTIAN FR. DENKEY

*Frederick Bates, who was postmaster at Detroit until July 29, 1805, when he was succeeded by George Hoffman, was born June 23, 1777. He was the son of Thomas Fleming Bates of Belmont, Goochland County, Va. He was apprenticed to the county clerk when 16 or 17 years old and studied law while in that office. About 1796 he came to Detroit in the Quarter Master's Department of the Army of the Northwest Territory. He engaged in mercantile pursuits and was the first postmaster in Detroit. He served a few months with the Governor and Judges as Senior Associate Judge and then went to St. Louis, where he was the first recorder of the board of land commissioners. He was appointed secretary of the Territory of Missouri, May 7, 1807. He was elected governor of the state in 1824 and died August 2, 1825. *Governor and Judges Journal, Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit, 1915, page 150.*

†Christian Frederic Denke (Dencke) arrived at the Fairfield Mission in 1800. He had spent several months at Goshen with Zeisberger and was well versed with the Delaware tongue. He built a hut among the Chippewas in 1802 and preached to that tribe until 1806 when their enmity became so apparent that he was forced to abandon the mission. He returned to Fairview where he and his wife were employed in teaching children the English and Indian languages and the Gospel. During the war of 1812 they went to an Indian camp farther up the Thames and returned at the close of the war in 1815. They remained in the old town while they erected a new town higher up on the opposite side of the river, which was called New Fairfield. A missionary Schmidt came to assist Mr. Denke. *The History of the Moravian Mission among the Indians in North America, from its commencement to the present time by a Member of the Brethren's Church, London, 1838.*

P. S. Should our Brother, an assistant for the mission by the name of Joachim Hagen, a german, whom we expect from Muskingum (for which reason of conveyance, some Indians have been send thither)—call on You, as likely he shall, we wish hereby to recomend him to Your kindness. Probably he will have recommendations by our brethren J. Heckewelder & B. Mortimer, to see You.

Turn over

If You will be pleased, to let us know, if towards fall in the month of August or September, You could again favour us by accepting a draught for £30—..— on Mr. H. Tenbrook New York, or Mr. Godfroy Haga in Philadelphia—we should be much obliged to You.

John Heckewelder to William Woodbridge, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 105, page 174.

Gnadenhutten 9th. Jan. 1808

Mr. Woodbridge*
Dear Sir

Your kind favr. of 26th last Month was duly received by last Mail. Altho I had enquired of Mrs. Matthews† if she had learnt that her Brother was employed as attorney by a Man (Mr. Knouse) in a case then about to be instituted against me, I had no other motive than a wish to know, what Number of lawyers Mr. Knouse really had employed—and what their names were—and as Mr. Knouse had told some of his friends, that one of his lawyers was Mr. Cass‡—another Mr. Irwin—and

*William Woodbridge was born in Norwich, Conn., August 20, 1780. His father was Dudley Woodbridge, a graduate of Yale College and a "Minute Man" in the Revolution. After the war was over he moved to the Northwest Territory and was one of the earliest settlers of Marietta, Ohio. In 1802 William began reading law and was admitted to the bar at Litchfield, Conn., and in Ohio. In 1814 he was appointed Secretary of Michigan Territory and Collector of Customs at Detroit by Pres. Madison. In 1819 he was delegate to Congress from Michigan. In 1820 he was again Secretary of Michigan Territory and in 1828 one of the Judges of the Territory. In 1839 he was elected Governor of the State and in 1841 United States Senator. His wife was Julianna Trumbull, daughter of John Trumbull, author of "McFingal." He died October 20, 1861.

†William Woodbridge's sister Lucy.

‡Lewis Cass, second governor of the Territory of Michigan, was born in Exeter, N. H., October 9, 1782. His father, Major Jonathan Cass, fought in the Revolution and was stationed in the Northwest Territory under Gen. Wayne. Lewis came to Mariette, studied law under Return J. Meigs and was admitted to the bar in 1802. He fought in the war of 1812 with the Ohio volunteers. In 1820 he organized a canoe trip to Lake Superior and the source of the Mississippi. In 1831 he became Secretary of War under Jackson and served until 1836 when he was appointed Minister to France. In 1845 he was elected United States Senator and resigned in 1848 to accept the nomination for President. He was re-elected in 1849 as Senator and served until 1857 when he entered Buchanan's cabinet as Secretary of State. He soon resigned and returned to Detroit where he died June 17, 1866.

a third (whose name had slip'd his memory) resided at Marietta; mere conjectures pointed you out to me as *probably* his Attorney, knowing of no other lawyer at Marietta that attended Zanesville Courts. Had even Mrs. Matthews answered to my question in the affirmative—being informed that Mr. Knouse *had* employed You—be assured Sir, I never would nor could have reflected on your conduct—never on *that* account, should have been at liberty to conclude, that you had overstepped the bounds of friendship. I know well what is customary—as what duty requires in a Professional Character—and I hope, that should it happen so hereafter, that you actually were called upon by Mr. Knouse, and employed against me, that my esteem for you, as an Individual of a Family I so highly prize, shall yet thereby not be lessened. I am as liable to commit an error as any other Person. Justice we owe to each other—it is a right all are entitled to, Mr. Knouse as much as myself. I do not wish him rob'd of his claim if any he has against me—but one thing I am sure in, and that is: that any Man of common sense, hearing the *truth* of the whole matter, could never find matter from my actions at that time, to censure my conduct. But there are instances, where one person in doing a good act, has unjustly been accused of doing wrong. I believe this is a similar case. However I am not yet certain that he will commence a suit against me. I know this, that no candid Lawyer having a *true* Statement of the case before him, would advise him to it.

I hope Dear Sir, that these lines may remove from your Mind, any thoughts, if any there were, that I felt hurt etc. & believe me your sincere friend and Obdt. Servt.

JOHN HECKEWELDER

P. S. I beg to be remembered particularly to Mr. & Mrs. Woodbridge, and to evry Individual of that by me much respected family.

J. H.

William Woodbridge Esq.
Marietta
Ohio.

John Heckewelder to William Woodbridge, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 106, page 117.

Gnadenhutten 20 March 1809

Dear Sir

I acknowledge with gratitude, the receipt of your very friendly & interesting Letter of 20, Feb. last. Some time before, I had learnt of several Gentlemen, on their return from the Legislature, of the conduct of James Clark, with regard to the business he *was* to do—and that which he was *not* to do—and the part

he acted. He had misled many, or rather deceived many, in order to obtain their Suffrages at the Election for a Member of the Assembly. In many instances he had declared "on his word & honour"—and so he got in. Me, he never yet has deceived. I never considered him as a man of honour & principle, & it being a settled point, that where there is no honour, there can neither be truth nor shame, so I never trusted—neither believed him in anything he said, and for that reason depended altogether with regard to the Petitions we sent on, to the judgment & candour of the respectable Members of the houses. One curious fact, I ought not to omit mentioning to you, vizt. On the 23d day of Jan. he wrote two Letters from Chillicothe, in the one to me, he pretended to be exerting himself in obtaining for us, *everything our Petition prayed for*. The other Letter, directed to Aquilla Carr, stating altogether the *reverse* and the *mischief* he was trying to do *us*—the success he expected to have in getting the Seat of Justice removed from Philad. etc. etc. was a few days after Carr had rec'd the same from the Post Office, sent by an Express to Sugar Creek, (agreeable to Clark's request) to inform the party *there*, what he was doing for *them*—and on its way there—strange to tell—this letter was lost from the packet of the bearer, and found in said Philad. the same day. Here the very men, who had assisted in voting him into the Assembly—men, who had heard him declare, that upon his honour he never would attempt any such thing—nor support such a measure & etc.—now had access to his own Letter, to one of *his* party—I say *party*—tho I do not mean here "political Party"—for their is no such thing as a political *party* in this country—but a party however exists, that would, if they could, pull down, & tear to pieces, every lover of Justice, order and good Government—every *honest* man. You will readily understand me and know what class of People such be. I have not as yet learnt much of what has been done in the Legislature, having seen none of the new Laws—but from the little I *have* heard & seen in private Letters directed to me (not from Legislators alone) I am satisfied that party Spirit was too prevalent. It appears to me, that if a change does not take place soon,, Liberty & Equality may become the hue & cry.

Please give my best regards to Mr. & Mrs. Woodbridge and to every individual of that to one so worthy family and believe me

Dear Sir with much esteem, Your sincere friend
& obdnt servt

JOHN HECKEWELDER,

Willm. Woodbridge Esq.
Marietta

John Askin to John Schnall.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 15, page 215.

April 22nd. 1809

Reverend Sir,

You will oblige me, by urging Jacob to bring me down, immediately what Indian corn and wheat he has or can collect of the debt due by him and your Indians. There is still due £36..19..11 and has been due before August 1807—I at that time sent him, Jacob an account of those who owed it and begged then and often since that he would get and bring me the payment, & if not all as much as he could, I now stand in great need of it and for fear he might forget those who owe, I now name the people again underneath Vizt:—

For goods he got himself to sell out	£18..11.. 9
For due by himself besides those goods	1.. 1.. 8
Jacobs son	2..14.. 6
Iseral	1.. 4.. 0
Zachariah	4.. 7..
Adam	12.. 6
Betsy	1..16..
Hirtokee a Chippawa Indian not at Moravian Town	12..
Samuel	4.. 6.. 6
Stephen	1..14..
	<hr/>
Amount	£36..19..11
	36.. 7..11

I remain

Reverend Sir

Your most obedient

Humble Servant

Signed JOHN ASKIN

N.B. Hirtookee is an Chippawa Indian, and should not be in the account therefore 12/ less and only £ 36.. 7..11

Strabane April 19th, 1809

JOHN ASKIN SENR.

to

The Reverend John Schnall at Moravian Town.
(Copy)

John Schnall to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 15, page 227.

Fairfield May 15, 1809

Dear Sir

I have received your kind Letters from April 22 and May 7, 1809 and have laid the contents before Jacob, which I repeated several times but he was at the same time very poorly. he worked too hard at bringing a Canue load (torn) corn to Mr. Dolson. And with his son he is in great trouble, because he is in a bad way, so that he cant trust him a load of Corn, except he goes with him. Now Jacob thinks it is impossible to bring the Corn to your House before planting is over, which will last some weeks, but as soon as planting is over, I shall put him in mind what he has promised.

Mrs. Schnall and myself sends our kind salutation to Mrs. Askin yourself and family

I remain Dear Sir
Your sincere friend

JOHN SCHNALL

Mr. John Askin

P.S. Jacob told me, when he brought the last 60 Bushels Corn to Mr. Askin he told him at the time, that the remainder he owed him was 3 Dollars, therefore he thinks it must be a mistake on your bill, namely for goods he got himself to sell out £ 18.11.5.

I have given our people an admonishing because the dont pay the old debt to their good friend, who had done them a great deal good in former times. There answer was: If Mr. Askin would come here at such a time when we have corn plenty, we would pay him clean out but to bring the Corn over the Lake is too hard and sometimes dangerous, especially at high winds.

Mr. John Askin
near Sandwich.

DOCUMENTS ON EARLY INDIANA HISTORY.

(Continued from page 271.)

William Henry Harrison to Gen. Charles Scott.*

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 13 Dec. 1811

My dear Sir

I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 27th, Ultimo by the mail of Wednesday last & beg you to accept my sincere thanks for the friendly sentiments it contains.

You wish me to give you some account of the late action that you may be the better enabled to do me justice against the "cavils of ignorance & presumption". I would do this with great pleasure but the Legislature of this Territory being about to close its session and having an unusual press of business I am unable to give you such an account as would be satisfactory. There is however less need of this as my official account to the Government will probably reach you nearly as soon as this letter. It appears to me from the hints contained in some of your newspapers that the charge of error in the planning or the execution of the late expedition has been more particularly aimed at the President than at myself. I most sincerely thank these Gentlemen for placing me in such good company, and it is hardly necessary to inform you that the charge against the administration in this instance is as unfounded as in all the others which have flowed from the same source. The orders of the Government with regard to the expedition evince as much wisdom as humanity. It was determined to protect its Citizens—but if possible to spare the effusion of blood. This last object was prevented. But by whom? Why in a great measure by those very persons who are now complaining because a battle could not be won without loss. At least in this territory the clamor is confined to those who opposed the Expedition to the utmost of their power and by whose exertions in circulating every falsehood that malice or vilany could invent the Militia were prevented from turning out and instead of a force of from 12 to 1500 men which I expected to have had I

*Gen. Charles Scott of Kentucky fought with Braddock, Wayne and St. Clair. From 1808 to 1812 he was governor of Kentucky, and a town and county in that state are named in his honor. He had some correspondence with Harrison on the subject of the battle of Tippecanoe. *Historical Narrative of Civil and Military Services of Maj. Gen. Wm. H. Harrison, etc., by M. Dawson, Cincinnati, 1824, pages 243-249.* Scott died October 22, 1813, aged 80. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of Biog.*

was obliged to march from Fort Harrison with less than 800. My personal enemies here united with the British agents in representing that the expedition was entirely useless and the Prophet as one of the best and most pacific of mortals—"a perfect Shaker in principle who shuddered at thoughts of spilling blood; Every one of his aggressions upon us was denied or palliated & excused with as much eagerness as in the conduct of Great Britain by this same description of people in the Atlantic States—A party sent by the Prophet fired upon & wounded one of our Centinels upon our own ground—the fact was at first boldly denied "the man was shot by one of our own people"—and I believe it was even reported that he shot himself—when the whole circumstances was brought to light—those indefatigable Gentry shifted their ground—and asserted that the poor Indian fired in his own defense and that he was merely gratifying an unusual curiosity in creeping up to see what was going on in Camp and that if he had not shot that the Sentry would have shot him.

I regret exceeding that the friends of Colo. Daviess should think it necessary to his favor to suppose a difference of opinion between him & myself which never existed, that I had slighted advice from him which was never given, and that to give color to this they had listened to stories with regard to the operation of the army that was absolutely without foundation—If the utmost cordiality and friendship did not exist between the Colo. and myself, from the time of his joining the army until his death I have been very much deceived. If our Military opinions were not almost always in unison those which he expressed (and no man who know him will accuse him of hypocrisy) were not his own—The Colonels mismates. Major G. R. C. Floyd & Capt Paitt are well acquainted with the entire confidence which subsisted between us—They are acquainted with circumstances which indisputably establish the fact—and they and others know that I was the object of his Eulogy to an extent which it would be indelicate in me to repeat—Colo. Daviess did indeed advise me to a measure the day before the action in which he was joined by all the officers around me—Whether the advice was good or bad is immaterial to the present discussion *Since it was followed to the extent that it was given*—It is not necessary to express my opinion of the Cols. merits at this time since it will be found in my official letter and I have no doubt that it will be satisfactory to his friends—

With regard to my own conduct my dear Sir it is not in my power to enter into a defense of it unless I were to know in what particular it has been arraigned—However I may with safety rely for my defenses upon the opinion of my army—believing more sincerely that you do feel "that lively interest in my fame and fortunes" which you profess I am sure you will

persue with interest the enclosed declaration signed by all the field officers of the Army one only excepted who was absent and the Resolutions entered into by the Militia of this country who served upon the expedition—The Testimony of men who fought and suffered by my side ought I should suppose to be conclusive—

An idea seems to prevail in your State that in the action of the 7th the whole army was completely surprised and that they were placed in a situation where bravery only decided the contest and where there was no opportunity whatever for the exercise of military skill of any kind—This was however far from being the case—It is true that the two companies forming the left angle of the rear line (Barton's and Giegers) were attacked before they were formed and that some of the men were killed in coming out of their tents but it is equally true that all the other companies were formed before they were fired on and that even these two Companies lost but a very few men before they were able to resist—Notwithstanding the darkness the order of Battle (such as has been previously prescribed) was taken by all the Troops—The Officers were active the men cool & obedient and perhaps there never was an action fought where (for the number of men engaged) there were so many changes of position performed—not as disorder and confusion but with military propriety—The Companies both Regulars and Militia were extended, contracted wheeld marched and made to file up by word of command—My orders and they were not a few, were obeyed with promptitude and precision and if I am not more grossly deceived that mutual dependence which ought to exist between a Commander and his army was reciprocally felt.

It has been said that the Indians should have been attacked upon our arrival before their Town on the evening of 6th. There were two reasons which prevented this—first that the directions which I received from the Government made it necessary that I should endeavor if possible to accomplish the object of the expedition (the dispersion of the Prophet's force) without bloodshed and secondly—that the success of an attack *by day* upon the Town was very problematical—I certainly did not understand my instructions to mean that I should jeopardize the safety of the troops by endeavoring to bring about an accommodation without fighting—But if I had commenced an attack upon them after they had sent a chief to inform me that they were desirous of an accommodation and that they had three days before sent a deputation to me for the purpose who can doubt but that a much greater clamour would have been raised than exists at present—the cruelty of attacking those innocence people would have been portrayed in the strongest colours the administration would have been represented as murderers and

myself as their wretched instrument. But the army were exposed to the "nightly incurscons" of the Indians—It has been well observed by a writer in the *argus* that if "a nightly incurscun" was really so much to be dreaded by the army it had no business there—But the author of these objections perhaps will be still more surprised when he learns that a nightly incursion was precisely what I wished because from such a one only could I hope for a close and decisive action. If they had attacked us by day they certainly would have done it upon ground favorable to their mode of fighting—they would have killed (as in General Waynes action) a number of our men and when pressed they would have escaped with a loss comparatively trifling. In night attacks discipline always prevails over disorder the party which is able to preserve its order longest must succeed—I had with me 250 regulars that were highly disciplined and my militia had been taught to form in order of battle to receive any enemy in any direction with facility & precision—"But in the immediate neighborhood of the enemy why were not the Troops made to continue under arms throughout the night"? I answer that troops can only bear a certain portion of fatigue and when in the presence of the enemy it is a matter of calculation with the Commander when they should be kept under arms and when permitted to rest—Upon this occasion I must acknowledge that my calculations were erroneous. In common with the whole army I did believe that they would not attack in the night—If it was their intention to attack us why had they not done it upon our march where situations favorable to them might easily have been found. Indeed within three miles of the Town we passed over ground so broken and disadvantageous to us that I was obliged to change the position of the troops several times in the course of a mile. They had fortified their Town with care and with astonishing labor for them, all indicating that they there meant to sustain the shock—It was the scene of those mysterious rites which were so much venerated and the Prophet has taught his followers to believe that both his person and his Town were equally inviolable to us—I expected that they would have met me the next day to hear my terms but I did not believe however that they would accede to them—and it was my determination to attack & burn the Town the following night—It was necessary therefore that the troops should be as much refreshed as possible. But altho the men were not made to remain all night under arms every other precaution was used as if an attack had been certain. In fact the troops were placed precisely in that situation that is called by military men "lying upon their arms" the Regular troops lay in there tents with their accoutrements on and their arms by their sides—the Militia had no tents they slept with their pouches on and their arms under them to keep

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MANUSCRIPTS AND RECORDS
FROM THE
BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION

VOLUME I

JULY, 1918

NUMBER 8

EARLY SANDUSKY TRADE AND SOME OF ITS
TRADERS.

Some Thomas Williams Letters.

Thomas Williams to whom many of the following letters are addressed was a native of Albany N. Y. and came to Detroit as trader about 1765. He soon became a man of prominence and held many important civil positions. He was justice of the peace 1778-1784, notary, judge and in 1782 was employed to take the census of Detroit and surroundings. He acquired a great deal of land about Detroit which was absorbed in the settlement of his estate. On May 7, 1781, he married Marie Cecile, sister of Joseph Campau. This was one of the earliest Protestant marriages in Detroit and was performed by the military Commandant, Major DePeyster. Marie Cecile was born Sept. 12, 1764. Thomas died in 1785 between Oct. 15 and Dec. 12, leaving a widow and three children—John R., Catherine, who married Jean B. Pelletier, and Elizabeth, who taught a girls school in Detroit and applied for a donation lot for a school after the fire of 1805. *Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. 8; Farmer's History of Detroit and Michigan, Vol. 2, p. 1031; Deeds on file in the Register's Office in Detroit.*

1475-12
21/11/18

Boyle & Williams to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 213.

Sanduskey, 25th July 1772.

Sir,

We have sent by Mr. Mercer one pack of Beaver in which we think there is 93 lbs. of good and 16 lbs. not so good, also 9 good others. The prices are as follows, the good beaver 9/ the other 6/ others 22/ If you please to take the pack at those rates its yours otherwise Mr. Mercer has orders to store it up till we come into Detroit which we expect will in latter end of Sept. The value of the Pack is fifty five pounds, eleven shillings, which you will credit our account for if you take it.

We are Sir your Humble Servants,
BOYLE* & WILLIAMS.

To Mr. Thomas Williams.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 81.

Sandusky, 15th Nov. 1779.

Sir,

I have shipped per the Adventure the Peltry as per Inventory inclosed.

Mr. Edgar has wrote me concerning the augmenting our concern here You'll please to observe that I am now capable of doing the business here, if we only have permission to trade here why should we take so many in the Concern, we would then be Seven Concerned. Small would be the share to each, after all would be settled. If Mr. Edgar or you have made any Agreement with them, you'll please send me a Copy. I think it would be to our disadvantage to be concerned with these people

*Philip Boyle came to Detroit as a sutler in 1761. He was also trading at Sandusky and was one of those recompensed for losses in Pontiac's conspiracy at the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. During the Revolution he was put on his good behavior by the British authorities at Detroit because of his American sympathies. He died in 1779 between Aug. 29, when he witnessed a deed and Nov. 25 when a wine bill was presented to his estate. John Dodge wrote him a letter, directing it to Philip Boyle, merchant at St. Dusk, July 13, 1779. *Farmer's History of Detroit and Michigan*, Vol. I, page 173; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. 23, pages 130, 220; *Detroit Register's Office 1775-1780*, Vol. B.

except that the Goods imported by them would be thrown in at first Cost and Charges, and that they R. & T. furnish the Concern at a fixed rate for a certain time.

However I leave that to your and Mr. Edgar's better Judgment and what you conclude upon will satisfy Your Humble Servant,

W. ARUNDEL.*

Mr. Dawson has no Goods here now nor when he went away. The goods sometime before he went away he disposed to a prisoner at the Upper Town. However Mr. Caldwell will look into these matters, disposing of Goods to prisoners in war time is not the Orders we had from the Commandant.

I send you the Case, Excuse haste, the Vessel just going away.

Since inventory 39 Racoons in a Bundle.

The Boat just arrived, but its very hard you'll send me not Invoices, tis not Inventories but the Invoices I am most in need of Not one since June last. How can I regulate the price of goods without knowing what they cost.

Very considerate Mr. Edgar is I think. Some things I wrote for might have been sent me. I shall have a good Winter—no Flour, Sugar, Rum, Nor Shoes, etc.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 159.

Lower Sandusky, 14th April 1782.

Sir,

I was favoured with yours per the Sergeant and with regard to the Horses, will make it known to Mr. Dawson per the first opportunity altho' I have heard they are not to be purchased from S Gerty† whose Comrade is the proprietor.

*William Arundel was at Lower Sandusky in July 1779 and assisted at the council held between the Wyandots and the Delawares. He sent a copy of the council proceedings to Capt. Lernoult at Detroit. In 1781-2 Mr. Arundel was still at Sandusky and aided the Moravian Missionaries when on their journey to Detroit. In 1782 he was instrumental in saving the life of Thomas Edgerton who had been captured by the Indians and was about to be burned at the stake. *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. 10, page 348; *History of the Girtys*; *Heckewelder's Narrative*, edited by Connelley.

†Simon Girty was one of the four notorious Girty brothers who distinguished themselves for their cruelty and barbarity during the Revolution. Simon was born in 1741 in Pennsylvania. He was often employed as an interpreter at Indian Councils and in Dunmore's war, as a scout and messenger. During the Revolution he allied himself with McKee and others in the British cause. He married Catharine Malott who had been captured by the Indians and settled on a farm near Amherstburg, Canada. He died February 18, 1818, and was buried on the farm. *History of the Girtys* by Butterfield.

The Robideau's has been here the 9th Inst., the Chief Rontondie being then here L. R. sent for him, to spake to him concerning a Bargain made with the Indians of this Village per A Coone* and Long House, Alias Shonnonshishe when they came first to the Island.

The Bargain as L. R. says they were to plow for the people here a Six per Acre and take in what the Indians had, such as Peltry, Goods, etc., in payment, and that they were to be on the Island and not to be interrupted by any other either with merchandize or Cattle belonging to others, however the People he said did not trouble them, but the Goods we had there was the only objection he had, so that if they would be removed he would plow for them as usual.

The Chief made for Answer that no person then in the Village had any knowledge of any such Agreement, nor neither could he approve of any such Agreement, as they were paid for their work twas sufficient and whoever made the Bargain done very wrong, and to prevent all dispute (he told them) or jealousy that all who had any property should take it off the Island and go to where they came from.

LeVellie† the Bearer was Interpreter, who will deliver you the Gold as there's no possibility of getting this Negro Wench or cattle from Mr. Coone.

To prevent Gevan's trading here some time we amicably agreed to throw in and he is gone down on the Lake to trade Sugar & *Graise* from the Gibcois, etc., not out of the Limits of Sandusky.

The inclosed is an account of Sundrys as you'll see per— You'll please put the prices to these articles in the account according to their value with you or should the Major Otherwise chose to return Flour and Pork for it out of the Store, you'll lay the Pork by and send the Flour here per first opportunity.

I shall send one or maybe both Boats soon loaded for you, when I shall write you more fully, as I have an Answer of a letter to the Major to write.

I am Sir Your Humble Servant,

W. ARUNDEL.

*See note page 18, this volume.

†Francis LeVillier, the Frenchman appointed by Girty to take the Moravians to Detroit in 1782 in place of Girty, who had gone with a party of Wyandots to war against the Americans on the Ohio. They started March 15, 1782, but spent four weeks at Lower Sandusky where they were met by Sargeant Race and several men of the King's Rangers and embarked for Detroit on April 14, 1782. LeVillier was killed in the Crawford expedition at Sandusky. *Heckewelder's Narrative*, edited by Connelley, pages 413-415; *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. 20, page 25.

The last Accounts from Mr. Dawson we have about 60 horse load of skins there, this was dated 21st March, and he's not to account till the latter end of May. These People's baggage lumbers so much the boats its impossible they can take any Packs.

Compliments to Mr. Williams.

Please remember me to my brother and tell him I had not time to answer his letter.

You forgot to send the Potatoes promised.

The Horse I have never received from Whitaker as he lost him, but I have heard of him and sent an Indian for him who is not yet returned. You'l in case he'd not get, take notice as they may take him to Detroit.

The other was Sd Mr. Dawson by the Minister, and two days after died of the Botts, his teeth fell all out and he could not eat.

Please settle with the Major for 28 lbs. Shott I made use of out of the Store.*

William Dawson to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 173.

Shawney Town, 1st May 1782.

Sir,

I take this opportunity per Captain McKee of inclosing you Government and sundry other bills as undermentioned which I hope will meet with due acceptance. This day I leave this place for Sanduskey where I shall be glad you may write me the first opportunity if the bills are paid I draw on you for a trifle which is a part belonging to Robins & McCormick which we laid in together in partnership in this place and Upper Sanduskey we have no news here at present.

I am Sir,

Your Very Humble Servant,

WILLIAM DAWSON.

Govt. per Capt. Elliott	112..16.
Captain Elliott Private—A/c	24..18. which he will pay you.
Capt. McKee has the a/c on Govt.	209.. 8. will settle with you.
Do. Private	15.. 4.
John Flory on Mr. Macomb†	17..18.
H. Babee on Mr. Babee	59..13.
James Gerty‡ on Macomb	23..16.

£463..13.

*See letter from William Arundel to Thomas Williams, April 27, 1782, page 18, this volume.

†William Macomb was born in Ireland in 1751, son of John Macomb. His father came to America in 1755 or 1759, bringing with him an older son, Alexander, born in

Arundel & Dawson to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 168.

Sandusky, 23rd May 1782.

Sir,

Inclosed you have a Dft. on Mr. Macomb for B 2..11..3 which when paid please place to our Credit and you'll Oblige

Your Humble Servants,
A. & DAWSON.

Be so good as let us know if you were paid by Govt. the Accounts for the Moravian Teachers, and let us know the Amount as some Articles were no price to.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 174.

Sandusky, 23rd May 1782.

Sir,

Please receive the boat load of Packs and be so good as let the men have 1/2 gallon Rum. You'll please discharge Allen, deducting four Dollars from his wages. The other two are to have £5 each for the trip. Young Abm said he'd come out in the boat. However you'll please dispatch her immediately if the Commanding Officer should have anything to send out please make the offer, and Le Vellie requests you'll be so good as send him an 8 gallon kegg of Rum.

I am Sir,
Yours etc.,
W. ARUNDEL.

Please not to deduct the 4 Dollars as above mentioned.

Ireland in 1750. In 1772 they came to Detroit and established themselves as traders. Alexander had acquired the "Macomb Purchase" in New York, a vast estate including the Thousand Islands on the American side. William became a large land owner at Detroit, where he possessed most of the islands in the Detroit River and the Martin farm in the city of Detroit, later called the Macomb farm and now the Cass farm. He died April 16, 1796, leaving a wife and several children. *Governor and Judges Records, Proceedings of the Land Board, 1915, page 158.*

†James Gerty, brother of Simon Girty.

Arundel & Dawson to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 171.

Sandusky, 24th May 1782.

Sir,

We have received yours and marked the contents and have drawn on you in favor of Mr. Dawson for 150£. Mr. Dawson arrived here yesterday, he intends to go in with the cattle as soon as he gets all the peltry down here. We have only to Congratulate you on the birth of your Son.

Wishing Mrs. Williams a speedy recovery, we are with Compliments,

Your Very Humble Servants,

A. & DAWSON.

Arundel & Dawson to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 184.

Sandusky 1st June 1782.

Sir,

We have drawn on you in favor of the Bearer for £39..14.. Being a balance due for peltry bought from him last Fall, and must beg leave (from the knowledge we have of him and from them that has been acquainted with him formerly) to recommend him to you as a man worthy your acquaintance and we would take it as a particular favor if you may have it in your power to serve him, It will be esteemed as such by

Your Very Humble Servants,

ARUNDEL & DAWSON.

Arundel & Dawson to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 186.

Sandusky, 11th June 1782.

Sir,

Inclosed you have Mr. Corbin's draft on Mr. Ademar for £35..4..—which when paid please place to the Company's credit, and you have the Inventory of the packs. The last 52 is now on board the Faith and as she is to return please send us

2 prs. Blue Stroud 6 lbs. Pearl Barley and 1 lb. tea, 2 galls. Maderia. We have nothing more to add, only our Compliments to Mrs. Williams, and

am Sir,
Yours, etc.,

ARUNDEL & DAWSON.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 183.

Sandusky, 17th June 1782.

Sir,

Inclosed you have the late Frans. LeVellie's private accounts, amounting to 1877. .8 livres and likewise an account of sundries for the use of Indians as stated in the Account 244 Livres, and a small account against Govt. of 19. .10. .6 furnished as per Do. the wampum was for to save the life of the boy sent in our boat.

There is here a cow and three horses belonging to the late LeVellie which I cannot get from the woman he kept, Capt. Caldwell seems to decline having anything to do in regard of getting them from her for reason as he does not chuse to affront any of them, the present times will not admitt of it,—Therefore hope you'll be so good as to try and get what pay is coming to him deposited in your hands until such time as these matters can be settled,

Inclosed is a small account Mr. LaBute desired I'd send you.

In the meantime I shall do all in my power to get the horses and cow from the Indian woman. There's a few things of his I had in the House, was apprized 6. .14. .—but do not send you the bill as it may be I may get the things from her so will send you altogether if possible soon.

The account against Govt., he said if the Major would not pay it, he would.

I am, Sir, Your Humble Servant,

W. ARUNDEL.

Please let me know if the accounts against Govt. will be answered and as soon as possible.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 181.

Sandusky, 24th June 1782.

Sir,

I was favored with yours yesterday and as Corbin is here will have that draft settled. I send you the remainder of the damaged Bbls and the ps. of silk as it would not answer for cravattes, there's 18½ pr. Blankets that can be made nothing of here, so you'll please place them to our Credit. I had a notion of sending a Bark Canoe for goods we want and have wrote for per Dr. Harfey* but as the vessel has to come out immediately with supplies etc., without which the campaign cannot be carried on Captain McQuarry has promised to Store away for us to the bulk of ten barrels, so you'll be so good as to be as expeditious as possible in completing the order and sending them on board, we want every article with an addition of a barrel of Indian sugar. When the vessel sailed from here there went in her a man of ours P Johnston, he was bought from the Munceys last Fall by Mr. Dawson for £40 and was found in cloaths since to the amount of about £15, so as he was to serve us two years for the getting him away from the Indians, and was sent on board the Vessel by the Commandant here its to be hoped the Major will be so good as to reimburse us the sum expended Whats done in this matter please let us know. Otherwise that the man as he is a Taylor by trade and a good workman be ——— and allowed to work till the sum is paid. If you could send me a few news papers, would be much obliged to you, and as you intimated having had some books in the communication, should the History of the Present War from the Commandant be among them, please send it to me and charge to my account.

*Dr. William Harfey, in 1781, was sent to Detroit to relieve Dr. Menzies, surgeon of the 84th Regiment. He was then at Three Rivers and was to act as Hospital Mate. He retained this position until 1786, when he succeeded Dr. George Christian Anthon, head surgeon. He lived at Detroit until the coming of Wayne and then, electing to remain a British subject, he removed with the troops to Amherstburg or Malden and continued as garrison surgeon. He was the first judge of the Western District Court of the Province of Upper Canada in 1797 and in 1800 and 1801 served in the Court of Quarter Sessions. He was sick during the winter of 1801-1802 and died in the spring of 1802. Capt. David Cowen and John Askin were executors of his will. While living in Detroit he owned a garden facing Fort Lernoult which he sold to George Leith & Co. in 1797. This garden was cultivated, planted with trees and picketted. *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. 19, page 620; Vol. 20, page 186; *Burton Historical Collections*, Manuscript Vols. 4-13.

I have nothing more to add only we have no flour, and am with Compliments to Mrs. Williams,

Yours sincerely,
WM. ARUNDEL.

Please chuse me two pr. good shoes for myself and send them per Capt. McQuarry.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 185.

Sandusky, 26th June 1782.

Sir,

The Bearer Mr. Dawson having some matters of consequence of his own to settle which calls to Detroit, The Compy was under the necessity of drawing on you in his favor for £130 N. Y. Cy., which is a balance due him for goods taken in the Partnership when he joined it, and as Govt. by Capt. Caldwell has not allowed cattle and sundry other accounts which will be settled for Before they set off for the Campaign there will be a good sum sent you soon.

I together with the Interpreters here have done all in our power to get the horses and cow from the Woman formerly kept by LeVellie but out of our power and there's no quarrelling with them, if they were in Dt. they may be taken from them. I nothing more to add for the rest refer to Mr. Dawson and I am, with compliments to Mrs. Williams,

Yours,
WM. ARUNDEL.

David W. Meriwether to His Father, William Meriwether.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 1036, page 162.

Forks of Cheet and Monongalia
June 27, 1782

Most. Hond. Sir—*****

News we have more in Quarter than I could write you in two Days, therefore will begin in telling you that about the time I arrived home, there started an army of about 500 men from this

side the mountains under the command of one Colo. Crawford* to go to the Indian Cuntry, their first intention was to go to Saint Dusky a principle Indian Town, but were met when they got within about two miles of the Town by a powerful and vastly superior number of Indians Collected from the Different Towns when a very severe action began and continued from Eight O'clock until Dark our men being obliged from superiority of numbers to retreat and were pursued two Days by the Savages fighting on the whole retreat. I cannot with any Degree of accuracy give you an account of our loss Killed, Wounded and missing, but from the best information I can get, it does not exceed fifty men, and that of the Enemy from Account much greater—we have had very troublesome times this summer, many families have been entirely cut off. The people on the West side of the River have been fortified since February last, and God knows when they will get out, as I fear this Defeat will cause the Savages to make a bold push on their Frontiers before Fall unless the Settlements should make up a second campaign, which much talked of after Harvest. I wish much to move from this Quarter as I'm sensible there is, and will be danger every Summer so long as the war continues. I have conditionally rented a plantation of Colo. Innes at Fort Cumberland the particulars Cousin Nicholas will Inform you. We have much talk of peace here, but I fear without foundation.*****

I must conclude most honorable Father your dutiful son

DAVID W. MERIWETHER†

William Dawson to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 215.

Sanduskey, 7th July 1782.

Sir,

Some small articles omitted in the letter you'll please to send by the same opportunity as the others—1500 gun flints the best for rifles, 1/2 dozen Forks—Please to excuse haste the hurry at present of Capt. Bradt to join Capt. Caldwell at the Upper

*Col. William Crawford, who was captured with Dr. Knight by the Delaware Indians, tortured and burned at the stake, June 11, 1782. Dr. Knight escaped on the 13th and arrived at Fort Pitt July 4th. At the time this letter was written news of the torture of Crawford had not been heard. *Crawford's Expedition by Butterfield; Sketch of Col. William Crawford, Ohio Arch. and Hist. Publications, Vol. 6, pages 1-34.*

†David Wood Meriwether was the son of William Meriwether and his wife, Martha Cox Wood. He had a sister Elizabeth who married her cousin, Nicholas Meriwether. David Wood married Mary Lewis, daughter of John Lewis of Virginia. He was born in 1756 and died in 1797. *The Meriwethers and their Connections by Louisa H. A. Minor, 1892, page 88.*

Town of Sandusky is the reason the boats just now going from the Vessel.

I am Sir

Your Very Humble Servant,
WILLIAM DAWSON.

William Dawson to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 216.

— — Island, Sandusky, 14th July 1782.

Sir,

Being ordered in a hurry on board the Faith, I left my Invoice on the Counter. I shall be glad you will send it the first opportunity; I expect when we arrive at the Lower Town, I shall have occasion to inclose you a memorandum of sundries may be wanting this summer for the two Detachments of Colonel Butler's* Rangers My Compliments to Mrs. Williams and Mr. Cassety, and remain

Your very Humble Servant,
WILLIAM DAWSON.

Thos. Williams Esq.

3000 Large Broaches	}	By the first opportunity.
2000 small " "		

4 lbs. Green Tea	}	" " " "
6 lbs. Bohea " "		

Obediah Robins to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 205.

Sanduskey, 23rd July 1782.

Sir,

I suppose you have the affair of Mr. Kays to transact. I send you in care of James Howdon twenty six packs of peltrys, the quality you will see by the inclosed invoice and I think they are of a tolerable good kind for Sanduskey,

*John Butler was born in New London, Conn., in 1725. His father was an Irish officer who came to the North American colonies in 1711. Butler served as captain in the Indian Department under Sir William Johnson. He also served at Ticonderoga under Abercrombie and with Bradstreet. Throughout the Revolution he commanded his famous Rangers. The corps was disbanded in June, 1784. After the war Butler was Deputy Superintendent of Indians. He died at Niagara in 1796 and was buried May 15th. *Mrs. Simcoe's Journal* by J. Ross Robertson, pages 71-72, 311.

We should be glad to know whether you will have up a large quantity of Indian goods this summer, and if agreeable to you, I believe we would take our outfits from you this Fall, as you have some connections here and we are connected at the Upper Town and the Shawanoes Town, so that all the Trade from this place would come into your hands. This makes 130 packs we have sent in this summer. Mr. McCormick is on the Campaign with Captain Caldwell. I have no more to trouble you with at present from this Quarter.

I remain Sir,

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant,

OBEDIAH ROBINS.*

William Arundel to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 239.

Sandusky, 14th Aug. 1782.

Sir,

Since my last to you of the 10th inst., have nothing to refer only that Lorty is gone round by the Roche de bault and therefore inclose you the draft so as that he may be obliged to pay it, as he certainly told me that Mr. Askin would certainly answer it.†

As Mr. Robins is gone in and will be soon on his return, must request you to send by him if possible the ribband, ferretting, Silver Works, a pr. scarlet some coarse thread and the shirts with a pr stroud good colour as these articles are really wanting.

Please return the inclosed account to Mr. Dufresne and let him know I could not get the man to settle it, as for any other things there is to settle of the old Company with him, that can be done when I go in this fall.

Should there be anything else that Mr. Robins can take besides the above mentioned light articles, please send them, but the above preferable to all others.

Since I began this letter I find Lorty is on his way for this place so keep the draft till his arrival.

*Obediah Robins and Geo. McBeath were merchants in partnership at Detroit in 1768. He staid there for a few years and in 1782 was at Sandusky where he had a house and sheltered the unmarried Moravian men on their journey to Detroit. *Heckewelder's Narrative by Connelley, page 434.*

†The opening paragraph of this letter was crossed out in the original copy.

No news from the Shawaney Country since my last only indian reports that no army is coming against the Indian Country.
I am Sir yours etc., etc., in haste,

W. ARUNDEL.

The Invoice of the things per Mr. }
Dawson and those you may send. }

William Arundel to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 246.

Lower Sandusky, 20th Aug. 1782.

Sir,

I received from Mr. Dawson the other day a small Horse load Peltry with an order for goods and Silver Works, Sugar, etc. He says there's a great deal of trade at the Chawney Towns; he has not seen the Captains McKee, Caldwell or Elliott since his arrival there as they with 20 rifle men Indian Officers and 100 Indians were gone to Cantuc.

Capt. Braat with the rest of the Rangers are at the Chawney Towns, and the others from Cantuc are expected daily, they are in there I suppose by this time, he says likewise Capt. Braat told him that Elliott said he'd stand to his bargain.

I shall send in a boat as soon as I have got her load of Peltry in the meantime must recommend to you to try and send these things wrote for in a former order if any Vessel for this place as they are wanting together with 100 plain shirts of Linen at 12 or 13d sterling first cost pr. yard—and 1 barrel Powder Double F, as for the news of this place I really think the enemy will come, but if the Commandant gives any assistance, together with the troops and indians in the Chawney Country, they will certainly be beat; another thing we can soon get out of their way if its thought they are too numerous. I suppose by this time that our Governor is come up, Now you'll have it in your power to settle everything regarding this Country, which I hope may be done according to your expectation I assure you its worth your while.

I am Sir with Compliments to Mrs. Williams,

Your Very Humble Servant,

W. ARUNDEL.

Sealing wax & Ink Powder

Expresses from one Quarter to Another for Govt., my
Stationary almost out.

William Dawson to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 238.

Wakatomake,* 27th Aug. 1782.

Sir,

Inclosed I send you Captain Bradt's† draft on Mr. Askins for Two Hundred and Sixty Six Pounds Nineteen Shillings and a Penny N. Y. C. which I hope will meet with due acceptance; I received from Mr. Arundel, Turney's‡ & Lorty's§ Draft, but they are not as yet returned from Ware. Please to send the goods as soon as possible that was ordered last Mr. Arundel & Elliott's bargain is void and of no effect. My Compliments to Mrs. Williams and believe me to be

Your very Humble Servant,
WILLIAM DAWSON.

N. B. Three days ago Capt. Caldwell arrived here from Cantucky¶, has made a capital stroke killed five field officers, several captains and other officers and privates; killed and taken prisoner 150—on our side only one man killed which is Mr. Labute Eight Indians killed and fourteen wounded. Colonel Clark is expected in this Country in a few days; in 6 days we go to Sanduskey to defend that Post.

W. DAWSON.

*Wapatomica, Wakatomika, Waukataumikee, a name given to two Indian towns in Ohio, one on the Miami near the present town of Zanesfield, the other on the Muskingum below what is now Coshocton. It is undoubtedly the town on the Muskingum here referred to. This was the "upper Shawanese village" and is shown on *Hutchin's* map of 1778. In 1774 a campaign was organized to go against the Shawnee towns on the Muskingum. The towns were destroyed and the Indians dispersed. It is said the towns were not rebuilt and the Shawnees moved to the Scioto and Miami rivers. *Heckewelder's Narrative* by Connelley, pages 241, 245, 253.

†Capt. Andrew was one of Butler's rangers. His name appears among the United Empire Loyalists in Crown Lands Department as having a wife and one child on the provision list of Niagara in 1786. *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. 20, page 33 note.

‡Lieut. John Turney of the Rangers in command at Upper Sandusky in 1782.

§Charles Lorty was once in the Indian Department and was made a lieutenant in 1780 by Gov. Sinclair at Michilimackinac. He was thought to be in the vicinity of New Orleans in 1801. *Burton Historical Collections*, Manuscript Vol. 10, page 65.

¶Alexander McKee writes a letter dated "Shawanese County, Aug. 28, 1782," in which he describes the attack on Bryan's (Bryant's) Station and the battle at Blue Licks, Ky. *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. 20, pages 49-51.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 248.

Sandusky, 31st Aug. 1782.

Sir,

I have just received a letter from Mr. Dawson mentioning his having wrote you some time ago, and as Elliott does not stand to his agreement begs you'd send everything formerly ordered by us, to which please add 4 ps. Good Stroud, extraordinary, 4 doz. Scalping knives, 2 doz. pr. Scissors,—The Rangers by Capt. Caldwell's letter will be here in 6 or 7 days, as this party of Indians are arrived from them at whose request I lend the boat and send Jno. Dumford in her, that better care may be taken, and as there is now at Detroit one Hitchcock & Franks from here they will do to man the boat out with the things you have to send us the current price paid here by the trip to Detroit is 5 £ per man and 2 Gals. Rum for the whole,—please send us 4 Ct Flour for which I send Baggs—and give the Charge of the boat to Jno. Dumford, he's a good lad and can be depended on.

Jose begged I would inclose you his Pass so as that you'd be kind enough to grant him another.

They have four oars, a sail and paddle marked T W. Poor LeBute was killed in the Battle at Cantuc,—very much regretted by all his acquaintances.

Should there be no Swan Skin or Pinnaston in our former
1 Duck Shott)
order please send 4 ps and 1 Goose Shott) And be so good as let none of the Articles be lacking that has been wrote for either in the present or former orders as now is the time for our business and its to be hoped we may meet with no interruption from others.

I am Sir in haste, yours,

W. ARUNDEL.

There is here about 700 red skins which you'll receive as soon as we get a boat load. Be so good as be as expeditious as possible in sending off the boat giving them charge to make no delay—and please send me some wine.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 818, page 2.

Sandusky, 6th Sept. 1782.

Sir,

Capt. Caldwell arrived here yesterday and the Draft which we have drawn on you favr Capt. Chabert* is at the request of Capt. Caldwell as he did not choose to draw, and all accounts here will soon be settled and money remitted to you as the Vessel is to return—I hope what things you have to send us may be sent immediately as the rangers are all naked and want necessaries. Please send us 100 lbs. of the *Opposte* tobacco, and let me know if your goods is come up as I shall go in when they are to get the fall and winter assortment. I am Sir, in haste,

Yours,
WM. ARUNDEL.

Please let me know the price }
of Elk skins. }

I think its very hard the Capt. of the Vessel demands freight for the Peltry, etc., when I to oblige Govt., turned our own things out of store house to put the Provisions. I leave that matter for you to settle.

Letter to Thomas Williams, Esq.

Arundel & Dawson to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 818, page 13.

Sanduskey, 6th Sept. 1782.

Sir,

Mr. Dawson arrived here about 12 o'clock today, and we have nothing further to mention only to request you'd be so good as complete order left by him with you, with all dispatch possible

*There were two Chaberts living at this time who might have been the captain here mentioned. Captain Philippe Daniel Joncaire Chabert, commissioned a captain of volunteers with Lieut. Jonathan Sheffelein in 1780, formed an expedition to attack the small stations on the Licking River, Ohio. He was also called Louis in the records. Philippe was born at Montreal, Dec. 2, 1752, married at Detroit Feb. 12, 1783 to Judith Gouin and died April 30, 1793. The other was Charles Francis Chabert de Joncaire who was a brother of Philippe and was born in 1757. Francis married at Detroit, April 10, 1780, Mary Josette Chene and was buried at the same place Nov. 24, 1813. He was one of the prominent men of his day and acquired very valuable lands afterwards known as P. C. 42, land now occupied by the ship yard of the Great Lakes Engineering Co., and the Tecumseh Salt Co. In 1798 Francis was elected a member of the general assembly of the North West Territory which met at Cincinnati Feb. 4, 1799. Other members from Detroit were Solomon Sibley and Jacob Visger. *A History of Detroit by C. M. Burton (The Gateway, Feb. 1909); Denissen's Genealogies of Detroit Families in Manuscript; Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. 20, page 225.*

and send off the Compy's boat load with the first of the articles that may come to hand, and as the vessel its thought may make another trip the rest can be sent in her, for fear of a mistake or disappointment if we can get hands we will send in a boat load of Peltry soon, so that what may require [torn] the assortmt. (after yr. sending the boat you have there, out) can come in the boat we send in, it may be W. A. may go in the [torn] but that's not certain, therefore must [torn] you'll be so good as send off as soon as possible the boat you have there and [torn] men as went [torn] last fall a la Chasse d'autumn.

As for news there's none here, all well and quiet, no signs of an enemy approaching the Indian Country, But however its not my business to say so, therefore you'd best not let my oppinion be made known to any.—This I can say that if Capt. Caldwell was here, things would go better and more regular than they do.

We are, Sir,

Your Very Humble Servts,
ARUNDEL & DAWSON.

Per the first opportunity I'll send you a dozen of fine fowl—
hens that will lay almost the winter.

And what W. A. wrote for in particular for himself begs
you'll send him.

To Thos. Williams.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 818, page 41.

Sandusky, 8th Sept. 1782.

———Dawson arrived here yesterday evening

———Peltry will be here today from the Chawaney and Upper Town. There's no news here only Capt. Caldwell is encamped here with his Detachments, Capt. LaMotte* and Several Indian Officers. We are in great want of the things we wrote for which is to be hoped is on the way by this time.

*Guillaume laMothe (LaMotte, LaMothe) was a French-Canadian who volunteered in the British service during the Revolution. He was born in 1744 and in 1767 was trading in the vicinity of Detroit. In 1777 he was captain of a scouting party and in 1778 captain of militia. He was captured at Vincennes with Hamilton in 1779 and sent to Virginia, a prisoner of war. In 1782 he returned to Detroit and in 1783 petitioned to be discharged from service and recompensed for his suffering during captivity. In 1792 he was appointed interpreter at Mackinac and in 1796 retired with the British to St. Joseph Island where he remained interpreter until his death, Sept. 5, 1799. *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. 20; *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio* by Thwaites and Kellogg, pages 287-288.

Mr. Dawson intimates he wants to quit this concern immediately as soon as it can be settled, therefore you'll please to observe I cannot manage trade at different places alone if he quits it except the case was such as that there was to be but one Concern then I could manage it, But where there's two houses, different Concerns, it requires the greater attention and sharpness may have the satisfaction of [torn] the case Both for your good [torn] the meantime I am Dear Sir,

Your [torn]
WM. ARUNDEL.

Please send a pr. Scales & 1 lb. Weight
as by that I can make the rest.

To Williams

William Arundel to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 818, page 52.

Lower Sanduskey, 4 Oct. [1782]

Sir,

I received a letter from Mr. Dawson the other day; he mentioned nothing particular only that he'd be on by return of the Faith and that he advised me to make ready for a decampment as its thought the enemy will be here this Fall, it may be but I don't think so. However that need not hinder his preparations nor setting off with the things from Detroit as we can always get out of their way.

Robins & McCormick goes in, in a few days for their winter assortment. McCormick with ten or twelve pack horses and Mr. Robins by water, so that the more expeditious Mr. Dawson is the better, we'll want particularly the No. of shirts mented, or linen and trimmings sent instead, and Calicoe, 2 pr. embost flannel handsome pattern for Capt. Elliott. Please send me per the first opportunity should Mr. Dawson be gone before this reaches you, 4 boxes Duck & Goose shot, 2 ps. Russia sheeting, 1 lb. Brimstone, 1/2 lb. Alum,—our salt is almost out. And if the Calico and Linen mentioned in Mr. Dawson's order, shirts should be sent out unmade you'll please to augment the thread in proportion and send cambric for the fine linen.

We have here 11 Packs peltry made up and more on the way from the Chawney and U. Town. I cannot get a man to go to the Chawney Towns with Pierre for more Peltry we have there, so that Mr. Dawson will please to observe what losses we are at, at times here for want of hands, Dyon commands [torn] three following; Makien, Ste. Aubeh [torn] oulouse fils.

Be so good as send old Joseph Beaudoin a pass to live on the Island.

I long to hear from you to know whether our Governor is coming up or no, he has a great many talks against him here.

I am Sir,
Your Humble Servant,
WM. ARUNDEL.

Compliments to Mrs. Williams. }
Hope she and child well.* }

Please send me my Watch if mended.

Letter to Mr. Thomas Williams

William Dawson to William Arundel or Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 818, page 44.

Sandusky, 6th Nov. 1782.

Dear Sir,

On the arrival of the Windott I received your favour of the 27th of Oct., and sent by Capt. Gibson letters to you and T. W. Esq., which I hope you received safe with 6 Packs Peltry. I came to the Island to take an account of the goods there as I wrote you I should do the first opportunity, which account I inclose you as it was Mr. Williams' desire altho it gave me no little uneasiness, being from home 4 days, to augment my sorrow Capt. Elliott came here in my absence and took every horse I had mustered to go to the Shawney Towns with, as it was to serve his Majesty in taking up the ammunitions to that place I shall make free with the King's horses to that place and deliver them to C. Elliott at the same time I can perhaps receive our own. I have sent Indians out of hunting His Majesty's horses to gather them together if possible as I had orders from C. Bradt when he left this I expect to set off in 4 days to build a cabin at the Shawney Towns as I find there is no danger of the *Rebles* approaching here this season. Taymish Chesne came from Capt. McKee yesterday morning and says there is no ac-

*John R. Williams, son of Thomas, was born May 4, 1782. In 1799 he entered into partnership with his uncle, Joseph Campau, in Indian trade and later in the mercantile business. During the war of 1812 he was captain of an artillery company and at Hull's surrender became a prisoner. He was paroled and with his family moved to Albany where he remained until 1815 when he returned to Detroit and resumed business. He was author of the city charter of 1824 and first mayor of the city. On Oct. 25, 1804, he married Mary Mott, daughter of Maj. Gershom Mott and had ten children. He died Oct. 20, 1854. *Farmer's History of Detroit and Michigan, Vol. 2, page 1031.*

count of any further trouble this Fall, every person is gone to their respective homes, Capt. McKee and the Indians that was assembled at the Town of Sanduskey. I have Whittacre here at present to assist me and shall leave him in care of the shop if in case you don't arrive before I leave this, I am very busy in packing up for the Shawney Towns. The big Frenchman is sick, Pere Barrabee is sick, your Humble Servant and Dyon is the only People that are healthy in this house, thank God I have good health.

If the other boat is not set off from Detroit before you leave it get McCulping to make my clothes that he said he would not fail to send by the first opportunity you will please to remember to have no connection in Partnership at Upper Sandusky and the Shawney Towns as I have all that I can get that or the most part of it this winter in our own hands. It is expected there will be 2 French traders at or near the Little Island or the *Portash* River. Please to inquire before you leave the Fort what goods Drullard has is sufficient for the trade there this winter. I have taken Powder and Ball there the time the Windott left this pass (?) it is near 12 o'clock this evening I am almost sleepy don't forget to send me 4 Galls. *Pints* and 2 of Wine which is to go to the Shawney Town unopened.

W. D.[AWSON]

N. B. Please don't forget 2 Pair of Shoes for me, I am barefooted.

Wm. Arundle, Merchant at Detroit
or Thomas Williams Esq.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams & Co.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 818, page 61.

Sanduskey, 3rd December 1782.

Gentlemen,

Inclosed you have a small account against the Govt., which please have signed by Capt. Caldwell. I have not charged storage until first we should have your opinion on that head, so if you think fit to charge the storage our store house has always almost had things in since we have been here and in making a charge of £50 storage I think would be but a small recompense for the trouble we have had, however you are the best judge,

Capt. Gibson's account,	7..16..
Ante Chesne's "	3..
In cash - - -	8..15..

We have sent Capt. Caldwell's account currt to him and there is a balance of 304..19..7 coming to him for which we have

drawn on you, which you'll please pay him and charge the company with, Mr. Elliott in the absence of Dawson has taken our two barrels of Salt and four of our Horses with him, which has done us no small damage *disorted* our goods and we have no salt, so we request of you to send us a barrel out either by Swzore or Baron will bring it as they will come this way this winter if the ice is good or to the Island and Sanduskey. We don't want for neighbour traders now; Uno and Rivet at the Carrying Creek, Gevan has 6 small bales here and is now building a shop, goods he got from Mr. Abbott Baron's brother is here with £100 worth of goods, said bought from you. All these traders is doing us a great deal of damage.

Mr. Dawson is gone for the Shawney Towns, he would have been there some time ago, but the enemy coming to their Frontier towns, hindered him. We would be glad to know if Gov't would choose to buy any Corn here, we have about 200 bushels corn to spare now and can buy more if we have timely notices, so please enquire of the Major and the highest price he will give per bushel, we buy it at the rate of 2 Bucks per bushel therefore if we can sell it 24/ twill do pretty well. If Gov't may want all our goods here dispose of them, as the Indians has sent a petition for that purpose, they are almost naked.

I send in a red cow per the Rangers, they are to have a gallon of rum on delivering her, she has a blaze in her face, please dispose of her, she's a good cow, will calf soon. We send her in now to avoid trouble in the Spring, intending to leave this place, as early in the Spring as possible.

Wishing you a pleasant winter, I am Gentlemen,

Yours in haste,

WM. ARUNDEL.

To Thos. Williams & Co.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams & Co.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 818, page 63.

Sandusky 4th Jany. 1783.

Gentlemen

Inclosed you have the inventory as requested all except the horses, of which I cannot till they return from the Chawney Towns.

An Acct. Agt. L R. - - 2.. 8..1

Lt. Harkiman's Note for - - 14..15..

A Dft. of Lorty's on which there's a Balce. due, it may be if he would draw on his Fathr. at Quebec he may pay it, otherwise it would not be amiss to threaten him a little.

The acct. with P. Drouillard you'll please give it him on getting a receipt for the corn.

I wrote you some time ago requests to send a barrel of salt which I hope you send with the following articles—

1 ps. white molton
 1000 large broaches
 1 Ct. Flour, 100 pr. ear bobbs
 6 ps. B. Stroud Bd & Narrow
 Cord if possible
 1 Box Duck & Goose shot

The above is the last goods we intend to write for which cannot be done well without, and as the Upper & Shawney Towns has taken these articles from us we are disorted of them both here and at the Island where we expect to have some trade worth while and indeed would have been really so if it was not for so [many] peddling people coming to the [torn] and here,—they selling under the old price.

Please let me know if I may take upon me to send a small adventure to ye Grand River, without saying more about it.

Please let me if there's any hopes of a peace or if its really so, its talked of here but I can hardly believe it.

I am gentlemen yr. Hble
 Servt.

WM. ARUNDEL.

Please let me know the prices of
 Tallow pr. lb. }
 Smoaked skins }

Please let Mr. Harkiman know we have found his horse he lost here & if he chooses to take 10£ for him please credit it on his Acct. left with you. If he wont take that price if he chooses I can hire an Indian to take him.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams & Co.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol, 818, page 64.

Sanduskey, 11th Jany. 1783.

Gentlemen,

The Bearer Mr. Revett is going in with a load of meat from his place, and I have agreed with him to bring out the things wrote for, the pack horses were here yesterday from the Chawney Towns, and I was obliged to borrow a ps. Stroud from Gevan to send Mr. Dawson, so that if its possible to send 2 or 3 ps more than mentioned in the last memo., twill be so much the better. We shall want likewise 1 ps. Swan Skin, 12 pr. Com

2½ pt. Blankets 7 pr. fine do., 400 needles, 2 of No. 1—1 of No. 2 & 1 of No. 5 & 3 ps. Calico which will be all that will be wanting to assort what we have on hand, otherwise we wont be able to do as well as our neighbours. Please send 4 gals. Rum and let me know the price as its for Dyon.

Whitaker* would be obliged to you if you'd please send him the same quantity and charge it to his account, directing the keg for him. He has married a prisoner girl lately, and with the above intends to get her entirely clear from the Indians—Mr. Robins married them.

I am. with Compliments to Mrs. Williams, Gentlemen,

Your Humble Servant,
WM. ARUNDEL.

You have the inventory of what of the Horses we have in possession, the others are not yet found, but have heard, the Big horse we got from Mr. Williams in exchange for the Black is lost since last Summer in August.

Arundel & Dawson to Thomas Williams & Co.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 842, page 17.

Sanduskey 6th Feb. 1783

Gentn

We have been favd. with yrs. of the 25th. Ult. But are sorry to be disappointed in the Std. it will be a great loss to us, I am informed theres plenty at Mr. Abbotts (Andrews and one lafontaine, I dont know but we may be obliged to pay Gevan in peltry for what we Borrowed of him so it will goe hard with us if we have not 5 or 6 ps.—please send us pr the Bearer 1 1/2 lbs. tea and the remainder of the Broaches if to be had—this will reach you before Rivett setts off from Dt. so we are in hopes you'll try & get us Some Stroud—

It is a little drole we are obliged to give security for our trade here and Gevan under pay & trading gives none, this is a small observation Sans dessin.

*James Whitaker was stolen by the Wyandot Indians when a young man, carried to the Sandusky region and adopted by the tribe. Shortly after Elizabeth Foulks was captured in Western Pennsylvania by the same Indians and also adopted. They were married as stated in this letter and the Indians gave them 1200 acres of choice farming lands on the Sandusky River, afterwards known as the Whitaker farm. Mr. Whitaker became an Indian trader. He had a family of eight children and in 1800 hired a teacher to instruct the older ones. His eldest daughter was sent to Pittsburgh where she was qualified to teach her younger brothers and sisters. Mr. Whitaker died very suddenly in his 48th year, Dec. 17, 1804. *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc., Vol. 13, pages 210, 230 and Vol. 17, page 425.*

Please let me know if I can send a la Grand Riviere to ye mouth of it to trade without a Pass if not be so Good as send one as theres twenty Lodges a hunting (there) since last fall of the Lake Indians besides some Delawares & they come down in March.

Please let me know what prices the following will Bring.

Mixed fats	}	Should anything occur regarding the peace Communicating the same would much oblige ye hble serts.	ARUNDEL & DAWSON.
Drest Skins			
Indian Sugar			

We will not depend on Govt for the Sale of our corn, but dispose of it to the best advantage here.

James Whitaker to Thomas Williams.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 817, page 160.

Sanduskey, 20 May 1783.

Sir,

I sha'll be glad you will send me 1 Kegg of Rum 4 gallons, and one of 2 gallons

One white Beaver Hat for my Wife, and 2 black beaver hats.

1 lb. Bohea Tea, the tea you sent Mr. Dawson to the Shawney Town received 1/4 lb. only. The tea please charge Mr. Dawson. I am, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,
J. WHITAKER.

Thomas Williams, Esq.,
Detroit.

DOCUMENTS ON EARLY INDIANA HISTORY.

(Continued from page 336.)

them dry. The order of encampment was the order of Battle for a night attack and as every man slept opposite to his post in the line there was nothing for them to do but to rise and take their post a few steps in the rear of their fires and the line was formed in an instant. So little time was required for this operation that if the guard on the left flank had done its duty as well as the rest of the army the troops on that flank would have been formed before the Indians came near them. It was my custom every evening as soon as the army halted to examine the ground of the encampment and environs and afterwards to call together the field officers of the army and give them their directions for the night. At these meetings (where every one was required freely to express their sentiments) every contingency that was likely to happen was discussed. The orders that were proper to be given to them were then by the field officers repeated to the Captains Every one being by these means possessed of my intentions there was no room left for mistake or confusion. The orders given on the night of the 6th were solely directed to a night attack—the officers were directed in case of such an attack to parade there men in the order which they were encamped & that each Corps should maintain itself upon its own ground until other orders were given—with regulations such as these and with such a state of discipline which we claim, you must allow my dear Sir we had no reason to dread a “night incursion” more than an attack by day—Indeed it was preferable because in no other could it have been so completely decisive—In the latter we might have lost as many men as we did lose without having killed a third as many of the enemy. In my letter to the Secretary it is asserted that the Indians had penetrated to the Center of encampment. I believe however that not more than two Indians got within the lines—More were certainly killed near the center of the Camp but it must have been from Volly fired from without.

From this letter and my official despatch to the Secretary of War you will be enabled my dear General to form a correct opinion of the battle of Tippecanoe. When an action is over and we have time to mediate upon the circumstances that allowed it there is no great judgment necessary to discover some error in the conduct of it. Something that was done which might have been better done or something that was omitted which if done might have produced great advantages. I believe the greatest Generals have admitted that they could fight a second battle upon the same ground much better than the first. If this is

true with respect to *them* ought it not to be a motive to shield me from that severity of Criticism with which some of my fellow Citizens are desirous of scanning my conduct. A Victory has been gained and the army which gained it imputed in part at least to the measures of the Commander—but this is not sufficient—it should have been achieved without loss on our side. There is certainly no man more fully impressed with the exalted merits of those brave men who fell in action than I and amongst them were many for whom I felt the warmest regard and friendship—But they were exposed to no dangers but what was common to the whole army—and if they were selected by divine providence as the price of an important Victory there is nothing left us but to honor their memory & to bow submissively to a decree which we can not alter. It would however embitter the remaining part of my life if I could suppose that their fate was produced by any misconduct of mine. But upon this subject I have nothing to accuse myself. I am satisfied that all my weak powers were exerted to the utmost for the safety and glory of my troops. Indeed no commander had ever greater reason to do so—for none ever received greater marks of confidence and attachment from an army than I did—Many of the Corps forgetful of their danger seemed only anxious for me and a sentiment springing from personal attachment alone was imputed by them to a belief that their fate was intimately connected with mine. For such troops it was impossible that I should not be willing to shed the last drop of my blood.

Your friendship my dear General will pardon egotism contained in my letter. Perhaps I ought to disregard the Idle tales that have been circulated to my prejudice—knowing as I do that there are not a few persons who served under me upon the late expedition that will not be ready to contradict them. I have not sufficient stoicism however to rest easy under unmerited reproach—and with the consciousness of having rendered some service to my Country I cannot bear to be deprived of the good opinion of my fellow Citizens.

With the greatest Regards I am Dr. Sir
your friend &
Hbl Sev't.

[WM. H. HARRISON.]

P. S.

I should have covered my troops every night with a breast work of trees but axes were so scarce (after having procured every one that the Territory afforded) that it was with difficulty that a sufficiency of wood could be procured to make the men comfortable—and the Militia were without tents and many of them without blankets. The story circulated in some of the papers of officers fighting in their shirt tails is absolutely untrue—

Governor Harrison to Be Killed.

From the Western Sun, Vincennes, December 21, 1811.

On Thursday last the Owl a Miami chief arrived at this place, being sent by a party of Indians which are encamped about 40 miles from this place to know whether the governor would receive a deputation from the Kickapoos and Winebagos, who were in the late action, and who had solicited the chiefs of the Wea tribe to intercede with the governor to grant them an interview— We are informed that the governor declined receiving their visit, and declared that he would listen to no propositions for peace until the Prophet, and all his followers, who did not properly belong to the Wabash were removed from the country.

Last evening Mr. McCollough, whom the Gov. had sent express to Ft. Wayne returned, he there saw the chief who came to meet the Governor from the Prophet's town, the night before the action. The man informed Mr. McCollough that it was at first intended by the Indians to meet the Governor in a conference, as they promised, with the intention of assassinating him— That one of the Winebago warriors had agreed to devote himself for that purpose, when the conference ended he was to watch an opportunity, and kill the Governor—when this was done they supposed that the army could easily be defeated. The information given by the negro who deserted was the occasion of the attack being made at night.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 24th. December 1811

Sir,

The enemies of the Administration in Kentucky have endeavoured to raise a clamour from some supposed defect in the planning or in the execution of the late Expedition. Altho, I believe that the people generally pay very little attention to what there gentry say, I have nevertheless thought it proper to elucidate some of the circumstances which have caused their animadversion in a letter to my friend Govr. Scott; a copy of which I have the honor herewith to enclose. I cannot believe that any man of judgment who is the least acquainted with Indian Warfare and

who knew the strength of the position occupied by the Indians, can suppose that we could have gained anything by attacking the Town on the evening of our arrival. *We might have carried it.* but I am fully persuaded that our loss would have been much greater than it was—Indeed had we fought them any where *by day* upon ground of their own choosing, we should I believe have beaten them; but their loss of men would have been comparatively small to ours. This has been the case in every action of note that has been fought with the Indians. Genl. Harmer plumed himself upon having killed one third or one fourth as many Indians as they killed of his men and in the action of Genl. Wayne, one hundred and thirty or forty of our men were killed and wounded—and I am persuaded that there were not more than twenty Indians killed. When pressed by our Troops they escaped with so much agility altho there were little short of 2000 Dragoons and mounted riflemen they were not able to overtake them. So great were the advantages which I suppose we should derive in a night attack from our discipline, our bayonets and buckshot that I must confess I had an idea that we should even be attached in that way—I shall however blush at my own want of prudence if any thing was omitted to guard against the success of such an attack, which ought to have been done upon probabilities which I had before me that it would be made. If I had placed pickets of observation without any chain of centinels it would have been easy for the enemy to evade them, or to have cut them off. Our safety consisted in having the Troops prepared for action at a moments warning. They could not have been better prepared unless I had made them pass the whole night under arms—I confess that I had no idea that this was more necessary than it had been for many nights before—Indeed I thought it less so—and I believe that I may with safety say that there was not an officer, perhaps not a man, in the Camp of a different opinion. But notwithstanding this the order of encampment was intended to resist a night attack. The orders given were directed to the same point—& the great facility with which the troops were formed shews that they had been well instructed—and well understood what they were to do, and excepting the two companies of Barton and Guiger, the rest of the troops could not have been in better order than they were in, when they were fired on, if they had stood at their posts the whole night.

Since I had the Honor to write to you by the last mail the Owl A celebrated Miami chief arrived here, to know whether I would receive some Winebagos and Kickpoos, who were waiting his return at about a days journey from this with several of the war Chiefs. My answer was that I did not wish to see them here at present—being anxious to know the Presidents determination with regard to them before I took any further measures. The Owl confirms the opinion which I had before

entertained that all the Potawatameis who reside on the Wabash (excepting the Chief Winemac) were in the action. He says he saw the warriors from both the Villages above the Prophets Town going to join him the day before action and that it was with the greatest difficulty that the young men of his own tribe could be prevented from joining him also. Amongst the Potawatamies were some men whom I had particularly cherished, indeed the chiefs and warriors of both those villages had partaken more largely of the bounty of the U. States, dispersed by my hand, than any others. Their conduct and that of the Miamis unequivocally prove that the inclinations of the Indians were entirely on the side of the Prophet—and that it was high time their establishment was broken up. My opinion is that they should not too easily be admitted to our favour again—and I regret exceedingly that Mr. Johnson should have been so precipitate in Delivering the annuities at Fort Wayne. I have temporised with the Indians for the purpose of gaining time—that the Government may decide what is to be done. The course that I would recommend is that the Miamis, Potawatamies and Kickapoos be made to drive the Prophet and all the strange Indians from the Wabash. It may however be necessary to embody a respectable force to back them and to prevent those *vagabonds* from turning upon our settlements—All the accounts that I have received from the Indian Country agree in stating the entire dispondence of the Prophets party—and their disinclination for further hostilities—It is however pretty certain that the Winebagoo have not returned home as the Kickapoos asserted—and it is possible that the return of Tecumseh, who is daily expected will produce other dispositions

In my letter of the 26th ulto I had the Honor to inform you that from the aspect of our relations with the Indians I had determined to retain the command of the Troops untill I should hear from you. As however the Militia have all been dismissed—and no immediate danger apprehended I have relinquished the control over them which I had retained. But upon the occurrence of any event to make it necessary or upon the receipt of your orders to that effect, I will with cheerfulness resume it—There is indeed but a *single* circumstance which makes the command disagreeable to me.

I have the Honor to be with great respect

Sir

Your Humble Servt.

WILLM HENRY HARRISON

The Honble.

William Eustis

Secretary of War.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 28th. Dec. 1811

Sir

A Mr. Fowler arrived here from New Port the evening before last with some groceries, medicines and other necessities for the sick and wounded—Nothing of this kind has been wanting hitherto and I am happy to inform you that all the wounded, one perhaps only excepted are in a fair way to recover and that there has been but one death within the last fortnight—The *enclosed letter* from Captain Snelling with the Indian talks which it contains, came to me by an express since the Departure of the last mail—It is another evidence of the complete discomfiture of the Prophets party—I have desired Capt. Snelling to permit the Stone Eater only to come here, by whom I will send an answer to the others. Before he leaves this I hope to receive your directions with regard to the course which is to be pursued with the late hostile Indians.

It is impossible Sir that I should be insensible to the torrent of abuse which has been levelled at me by some of the papers—What we call here a glorious victory—such a one as in the opinion of Govr. Edwards, Govr. Howard, Genl. Clark, and generally of the whole mass of Citizens will produce the most important beneficial consequences to the western country and to the U. States, has been termed a most distressing disaster—"a horrible butchery—" If these observations had been confined to the federal prints I should have disregarded them,—but none of them have been more rancorous than the paper called the Baltimore Whig—In my official accounts it has been my aim to conceal no circumstances whatever even if it should militate against myself—I have indeed made statements which have had that tendency, when there was no necessary for it, and which upon further enquiry I found to be totally incorrect—I have asserted that the Indians penetrated to and killed men near the center of the Camps—I was led to the error because I knew that a few Indians had entered the camp. I now find that there but two, at most, who had passed into Camp near the left angle,—but they were killed within twenty yards of the line—and I knew also that men were killed and wounded quite in the interior of the Camp, but every one agrees that it must have been from Balls that came from without.

I have said also that men were killed coming out of their tents. Capt. Barton informs me that the two tents on the right of his company were fired into before the men got out—but the rest were formed before they received any injury—Capt. Guiger had but one tent—one of his men was killed in the mouth of this, and another killed an Indian—and this with a slight wound himself, was all the injury his Company received untill they were formed in the rear of their fires Thirteen men who *joined us the day before the action* were attached to Guigers Company and posted on his left, joining to Bartons, were broken and run off on the first alarm (two or three excepted) and it was this circumstance which caused the great injury to Bartons Company—I do aver that the Troops upon the front, rear and left flank were completely formed before they were fired on. The left flank which suffered most were formed some minutes before they received a shot. It could not have been more than one minute and a half from the first alarm, (and Mr. Adams who attended me thinks it was not as long, before I led up myself two companies, completely formed to the assistance of Barton and Guiger—But admitting that something more might have been done by me to ascertain the approach of the enemy, it appears from the above statement, that we sustained very little injury by the suddenness of their attack—In my letter from the Battle ground I have said that there was at first some little confusion before the Troops were formed—I read this letter to Colo. Boyd at the time, and he asserted that there was none, that there never was an army formed quicker or in better order. It is possible that the Colo. may since have changed his opinion. With regard to my own conduct and the measures taken to secure the victory after action commenced, I must refer you to the Declaration of the field officers and the Resolutions of six Militia Companies here with enclosed—I have been very much misinformed if the sentiments they contain are not common to all the Platoon officers of the 4th Regt.

I have the Honor to be very respectfully

Sir

your obt. Servt.

WILLM HENRY HARRISON

The Honorable
The Secretary of War

P. S. for the satisfaction of the people I have caused the letter from Capt. Snelling & the Indian Speeches to be published and having no one at hand to copy them I have enclosed herewith the newspaper which contains them

W. H. H.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes, 1st. Jany. 1812

Sir

My friend Thomas Randolph Esq. who fell in the late action acted as Judge Advocate of the Genl. Court Martial which sat at this place last Spring and from the suggestions of one of the officers he made out an account and drew upon you for \$156 in favor of Messrs. Jones & Dubois of this place—the draft was protested but the account has since been settled by the accountant and the sum of 78 Dollars allowed him which had been transmitted here by the Treasurer (Since Mr. Randolph's death) in a treasury draft payable to Mr. Randolphs order. It was his intention that Messrs. Jones & Dubois should receive whatever was allowed him (as they had actually advanced him \$156 upon his draft) & they received authority from him to take out of the office & open the letter which he expected to receive from the accountant and appropriate the money which it was expected to contain to their use—but as the draft was payable to Mr. Randolphs order they can make no use of it. They have therefore applied to me as the nearest friend of Mr. Rs who has for several years made a part of my family to devise some made (means) for their relief. I can think of none that is likely to answer the purpose but to request you to accept the draft of Mr R to the amount of seventy eight Dollars & pay the money to the bank to which it has been assigned. For this purpose I have the Honor to enclose the draft of Mr Randolph on you and the Treasurers draft for the 78 Dolls.

Mr. Randolphs affairs were so deranged and his property of so little value that it is not thought proper to administer upon it. His wife has been in a state of mental derangement for many months. Her nearest friends have recommended to me to adopt the measures which I am now taking with regard to his claims on the war department.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect

Sir your

Hum Servt.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

The Honble
William Eustis Esq.
Secy of War

Oliver G. Burton to William Henry Harrison.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes Jany. 5, 1812

Sir

By sentence of a G. C. Martial in July 1810 Capt. Baen was suspended from rank, pay etc. for one year, previous to which he was entitled to a Majority. his suspension in all probability prevented his being promoted the last session of Congress. this suspension of Capt. Baen suspended my promotion for the same time, as I should have succeeded to the Comd. of his Compy. Capt Baen being unfortunate in the action on Nov. 7th., 1811 leaves the vacancy to which he was entitled to be filled by a Capt. not of the 4th. Regt. and of Course a Subaltern of the Same Regt. will fill the Vacancy caused by the promotion of the Capt. This Sir deprives me of rank, pay etc as Capt. from May or June 1810 to Sept. 1811, not through my falt (I hope) but the misfortunes of Capt. Baen. I have thought proper to submit the above statement to your Consideration and Should Consider it as an unfieigned favour if you woul have the goodness to represent the same (together with your interest on the subject) to the proper department

I am with sentiments of esteem

Respectfully

Sir your obt. Servt.

O. G. BURTON,
Lt. 4th. Infy.Wm. H. Harrison Esq.
Gov. of Indiana Territory.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 6th Jany, 1812.

Sir

The ardent desire which I feel to serve those brave men who fought under my Command in the late action with the Indians may be the occasion of my giving you more trouble than I ought to do. But the motive which governs me will I am persuaded, with you, form a sufficient appology.

From the enclosed letter of Lieut. Burtons of the 4th. Regiment it appears that he is likely to suffer materially in his rank by the unfortunate fall of Capt. Baen. If it were possibly consistently with the rules which govern such cases to date Mr. Burtons Commission as Captain from the day that the Majority became vacant to which Capt. Baen would have succeeded it appears to me that it could not be considered an injustice towards any other person. Lieut. Burton is a sober steady industrious & Brave officer.

Captain James Hunter who Commands an uniformed Light Infantry Militia Company in the town of Louisville Kentucky wishes to become a Captain in one of the Infantry Regmts. which are about to be raised. Capt. H entered as a private Volunteer in the Company which was raised by Colo. Guiger for the late Campaign in the neighbourhood of Louisville and acted after he joined the army as Adjutant to the Mounted Rifle men. I am very well acquainted with Capt. Hunter but I have no doubt of his making an good officer he behaved extremely well in the action & was wounded in the arm.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect

Sir your

Hum Servt.

WILLM H. HARRISON

Honble

William Eustis Esq

Secy. of War

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 29th. April 1812

Sir, .

In a letter which I had the honor to write to you in the night of the 22nd. inst. I communicated the information which I had just then received of the murder of a family upon the Embarras River about 5 miles from this place—the report proved but too true. On the succeeding day Colo. Miller went to the spot with a Detachment of the regular troops & buried the Bodies of Mr. & Mrs. Harryman, and five small children. A violent rain which fell the night after these murders were committed rendered it impossible for the detachment of mounted men which were sent in pursuit of the Indians, to discover the route they had taken. On the 14th Inst. another family was attacked by

the Indians a few miles from the Ohio, about 10 miles below the yellow bank and about 75 from this place, the owner of the house was killed and one of his sons badly wounded, another son however with the assistance of the women of the family killed one of the 3 Indians and drove off the others. I have not been able to ascertain the Tribes to which the parties belong which have committed any of the late murders. It appears to me however to be very evident that their design is to distract and divide our attention to prevent the militia from embodying and certainly no plan could be more successful than that which they have fallen upon. The murder committed near the Ohio where I supposed that there would be no danger, even in the midst of an Indian War has so alarmed the people in that quarter that it would be impossible to make the militia turn out, to march to the protection of any other place. the killing of the man upon the driftwood fork of White River has produced similar effects in all the Settlements Eastwardly and Southwardly of that place.

It is impossible Sir, to give you an adequate Idea of the alarm and distress which these murders have produced—the account transmitted to you by Governor Edwards of the situation of the Illinois territory after the murders were committed there last year, affords a better picture than I can draw of the scenes which are daily exhibited here—families abandoning their homes & flying they know not whither, and many of them without any means of support, are seen in every direction. Nor is the situation of this town by any means such as offers security to the fugitives. The expected departure of the Regular troops and the revival of the design by the Prophet and his Party (as communicated by Mr Shaw) to surprise it by a Water expedition, causes it to be viewed as a place of greater danger than any other and the fugitives pass through it as expeditiously as possible—I have formerly described to you its situation and the impossibility of defending it with its own militia—and under the present alarm it is impossible to get a single company nearer than the neighbourhood of the falls of Ohio. For offensive operations I believe the men would turn out willingly & I understand that the People of Kentucky and Tennessee are anxiously waiting for an order to that effect.

The company of Rangers have been so much employed in Detachments for some time past as to allow no opportunity for mustering them. It was however done yesterday and I have made such a distribution of them, as appeared to me to be best calculated to secure the settlements from surprise. I have so placed them that the Country to the North West North and East of this place in advance of all the Settlements will be reconnoitered daily for nearly one hundred and fifty miles. If they do their duty it will be impossible for any large number of Indians to pass them unobserved and very difficult for a small party but there is still a considerable frontier below us and above

(through the Delaware Country) that is entirely exposed nor can the Rangers give us here timely notice of the approach of an enemy by Water as they can descend the Wabash much faster at this season in their Canoes than a horse can travel—conformably to the Idea suggested in my letter of the 15th. inst. I have thought it proper to send a special Messenger to the Delawares—I selected for the purpose Major Davis Floyd, who is well acquainted with the chiefs and I do myself the honor to enclose you a copy of his Instructions which were accidentally omitted to be sent by the last mail—since his departure a man of the Tribe has arrived here with letters from Connor and Capt. Hendrick's and a speech from the Chiefs, the object of all these was to assure me that the Delawares had no hand in the late murders that that Committed on Driftwood was intended to implicate them, and induce us to take satisfaction of them which would be the means (as the hostile Indians expected) to force the Delawares to take part with them in the War. The Murderers as the Delawares say were Potowattimes on their return they passed near to the lower town of the former on White River, and were seen by some of the Women. They were tracked in that direction by some of our people and it will take proof equal to that of holy Writ to convince them that they were not Delawares. I have and shall continue to do every thing in my power to prevent this impression from becoming General. There are two very powerful considerations for preserving the neutrality of the Delawares if it be possible. In the first place the uncommon faithfulness with which they have fulfilled all the engagements they have entered into with us deserves every proper forbearance on our part & in the next place the bravery of their Warriors and their intimate acquaintance with our Settlements would enable them to do much more mischief than twice the number of any other Tribe. The Delaware who was here says that he has no doubt of their compliance with the wishes of the President even if they should extend to the making war upon the other tribes.

I have given the agent at Fort Wayne directions to make a proposition to the Miamis similar to that which I have sent to the Delawares. I suppose you are regularly informed from Fort Wayne of every thing that passes in that quarter.

The Delaware Indian who was here informs me that there is a large body of Indians from the Mississippi below the Tippecanoe. He calls them Seux

I have the honor to be with great respect

Your Humble Servt.

WILLM HENRY HARRISON

To the Honorable

Wm. Eustis Esqr.

Secretary of War.

James Noble to William Henry Harrison.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Brookville May 6th, 1812

To his Excellency William Henry Harrison Governor of the
Indiana Territory

Sir

I send you a copy of the speech made by the Delaware chiefs at White river, and a copy of Jno Conners letter, which reached me shortly after the general orders for the militia. The minds of the people are much agitated, upon the reports of the different murders, committed on the frontiers of our Territory be the Indians together with the news contained in the speech of the Dellawares, and Conners letter, as it respects the Pottawattemies. and the Dellawares I suppose or some other tribes of Indians now and then on our frontiers also the raising of the Militia in the state of Ohio to march to the North, has created such alarm, that a number of families have left the Country, and in order to prevent the whole of the Inhabitants on the west fork white river, from moving away, and to quiet the minds of the people, tomorrow morning thirty men of the rifle company under the command of Capt. Herndon will march up the west fork of White Water, and act as rangers, stationed at two Block-houses fifteen at each, where they will be supported, and remain until I hear from you. In some part of the country five & six families have come together, given up all pretensions of making a crop on their own farms. If those men are to be kept out in service, you will be good enough to chalk out the method by which they are to be supported & paid. I hope the minds of the people will soon be at rest, everything has been done in my power to reconcile the people. Upon the receipt of Conners letter, I wrote him, advising the Dellawares, to keep clear of our settlements, they might be injured through mistake, and at the same time observed that confidence was placed in them by you sir. Doctor Eastman Just arrived in this place states that a man was killed and scalped near Eaton State of Ohio about forty miles from this place a party had gone out in pursuit of the Indians that had done it, I have raised detachments from my Regt. sixty men & four sergeants from each Battl. and designated by whom to be commanded, & to be in readiness together with the rifle company, also appd. the place for rendezvous, block houses are erecting in the bounds of each company district, & two or three men of each company are ranging as far as the

company extends. I send sir, a rough return of the strength of my Regt. you will readily see the deficiency of arms and ammunition, which is the only difficulty with me. I am placed in a very unpleasant situation a number of the inhabitants offended with me for not ordering out a larger body of the militia. I am sorry to see the country depopulating, most distant idea with me that the difficulty will be great with the Indians if the Dellawares remain friendly. Please to give me the particulars, as to the prospect of Arms &. I am sir with

sentiments of
respect your f d
JAMES NOBLE

In haste &.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 6th May 1812.

Sir

On Sunday evening last a party of Indians attacked a house on White River about 35 miles from this place. Killed the owner (Mr Jno McGowan) but were driven off without doing any further injury. Most of the citizens in this Country have abandoned their farms and taken refuge in such temporary forts as they have been able to construct. Nothing can exhibit more distress than those wretched people crowded together in places almost destitute of every necessary accommodation. Unless something can be done soon to enable the people to return to their farms I fear that there will be little or no corn planted this season. On the 2nd, Inst. I received a letter from Mr. Stickney containing the result of the Council lately held at Fort Wayne which has no doubt been communicated to you. This letter was brought to Fort Harrison by an Indian who was employed by Mr. Stickney for the purpose. On his way he was joined by Chief Winemac with nine other Potawatomias. They were very desirous of coming here but were properly retained by Capt. Snelling

I have refused to suffer them to come farther because I am convinced they would be killed in despite of any endeavours of mine to prevent it. I also suspect that there are spies amongst them sent by the Prophet. These people were at Fort Harrison when the murder was committed on McGowan & very probably by a part of the same tribe. It is thus that we are served by these scoundrels whilst some of them are making warm professions of

friendship & enjoying our hospitality others are murdering our citizens. The people of this town & neighbourhood are in great alarm & consternation since the arrival of the order from Colo. Miller to march & they expect with great anxiety the adoption of some measure by the Government for their protection.

There is no artillery of any description in this Territory. A few of those small pieces which were cast for Genl. Waynes army a number of which must be Massac or Newport and which are fit for nothing else would be serviceable in defending the forts against the attacks of Indians

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect

Sir

Yr Humbl Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

the Honble

Willm Eustis Esq.

Secy of War.

James Noble to William Henry Harrison.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

A Brief return of the Strength of the 7th Regt. I. Ty M (commd.) by Lieut Col. Comd. James Noble) To the Commander in chief of the Militia of I. Territory.

Privates 540 Rifles 214 pounds of powder 68¾

Balls 1212 pounds of lead 55 Flints 337 Powder horns & shot pouches 198, Companies 9

The above number of privates exclusive of non commissd. officers.

To his excellency William H. Harrison Governor of Indiana Territory

Sir

You discover that I have not named the number of officers in my Regt. the reason of it, but few commissd. in it, I hope you will excuse me, until I can if ever, have it full of officers, there will be a district formed on the west fork white water, for a Company to be consd. as infantry, and so soon as officers can be elected, will call for commissions. Please to send a Commission for Thos Clark Lieut. and Wm. Morgan Ensign. If you should deem it proper it might save you trouble, send a parcel of blanks, I will attend strictly to them, the bearer Mr. J. U. Morrison formerly commd. a rifle company previous to the division of Dearborn, but some time ago resigned, in consequence of it, a

light company was raised, in the 1s. Battl. Morrison residing therein I think proper to mention the circumstance. If you have concluded to send the commissions I wrote for some time ago please to let the bearer have them

I am Dear sir

Your sincere frd

JAMES NOBLE

May 7th 1812.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes May 13th. 1812

Sir

An express has just arrived from the County of Franklin in this Territory, by which I have received a speech made by the Delaware Chiefs to Conner the Interpreter of that Tribe, and a letter from Conner to a Col. Noble of the Militia, informing him of a party of Potawatamies having passed this town and taken the direction of our settlements, with an intention as the Delaware supposed of committing hostilities. Their opinion happens to be but too well founded, as it appears from the letter of Col. Noble, which I do myself the honor to enclose, that a citizen of the state of Ohio was killed about the 1st of this month near Eaton about forty miles from the Colonels residence.

I am perfectly at a loss as to the orders proper to be given in the present state of the country—I do not conceive myself authorised to order out any militia at the expense of the United States—I had hoped that the Eastern Settlements would have escaped the Indian Depredations; but it appears that they are determined to diffuse their favours as widely as possible—from the motive no doubt which was suggested in a former letter, viz, that of distracting our attention, and thereby preventing the Militia from embodying. Altho the people of this part of the Territory are generally in Forts it is impossible to make any disposition of a Company of Rangers to prevent small parties of Indians from penetrating the Settlements to do mischief—and our line of frontier is so extensive that even the kind of protection which the Rangers do afford, cannot be extended to more than one fourth of it. I must beg leave to call your attention to the enclosed statement of the deficiency of arms in Col. Nobles Regt. Great as it is I believe that there are more arms reported in it than in any of the 8 Regiments in the Territory, excepting the two in this county, amongst whom the 500 muskets which

were forwarded to me have been distributed. Numbers of the Militia would purchase Guns, but they are not to be had in the western country, and our sole dependance is upon the public arsenals. A few days ago two Wea Chiefs arrived here, being dispatched as they said by the Winebagos to inform me that several chiefs of that tribe had arrived on the Wabash with the intention of going to visit the President, but that they were apprehensive that the late murders committed, as they said, entirely by the Potawatamies, would prevent them from being permitted to proceed. I have no idea of the least sincerity in this declaration—and I am also persuaded that the Weas were sent in as spies—I gave them assurances however of their being well received—and committed to them a letter to the agent at Fort Wayne directing him to provide the means of sending them on should they apply to him for that purpose.

The Territory is depopulating very fast and will no doubt continue to do so untill effectual measures are taken for its protection.

There is some great deficiency in the Mail between this and the seat of Government—proceeding from, a part of it being retained at some of the offices, in consequence its being too heavy for the ordinary conveyance. The Envelope which covered the appointments of Captain Chun and his subalterns had the Washington post mark of the 16th. ultimo, but it did not reach this place untill yesterday.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir

Your Humble Servt.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

P. S. The information given by the party of Potawatamies mentioned in my last to Captain Taylor at Fort Harrison was that the Prophet was in the neighbourhood of his former residence with about 300 Winebagoes and about 200 of other Tribes—and that he was daily gaining strength.

The Honble

William Eustis

Secy of War

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes May 27th. 1812

Sir,

Since I had the Honor to write to you on the 13th. Inst. no further mischief has been done by the Indians that has come to my knowledge. There have however been several parties within the settlements and a detachment of Militia are now in pursuit of four that were discovered about 7 miles from this place the evening before last. The Indians are much favoured in their retreat from the unusual witness of this season, which enables them to travel for miles in ponds or overflowed low grounds.

Yesterday evening I received a Dispatch from Capt. Taylor containing the Speeches of Lapousier and Stone Eater, who have just arrived as they say from Mississiniway by the way of the Prophets Town—They assert that the Council at the former place terminated in an unanimous Resolution upon the part of the Tribes who were present to remain at peace with the United States. Their speeches contain much profession of friendship, but not one word upon the subject of the Chiefs going to Washington, or the delivery of the murderers—one or both of which was required by me, as the only evidence that could be relied upon of their disposition to remain at peace with us.

I daily expect more correct information from Fort Wayne. I have heard nothing of Mr. Floyd since the 2nd. Inst. He was then at the Delaware Town. I am a little apprehensive for his personal safety, as a man of the Delaware Tribe was very unnecessarily and improperly killed near the Ohio in this County since Floyd's departure.

I have the Honor to be, with great respect Sir

Your Humble Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble.

William Eustis

Secy. of War.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes June 3rd., 1812

Sir,

I had the Honor this day to receive yr. favour of the 13 & 14th Ultimo. By the same conveyance I also received from Colo. Russell who is gone to the Red banks to March across a Company of Rangers whom he expects to meet at that place. The Colo. in his letter to me says "My own opinion has always been "to defend the frontier in the best manner for the safety of the "Inhabitants is always to carry the war into their own Country. "Should you sir be able to ascertain the Towns that are unfriendly I would without being better informed deem it my duty "to embody the Rangers and one Company of the Troops, & "move against them & burn & destroy any such town."

If Colo. Russell has any instructions to commence offensive operations I should be thankful to be informed how far it is expected that my opinions & advice are to govern or contrall his measures.

I do not by any means wish to share any responsibility that the Government should think proper to impose upon me. But it appears to me that unless the Colo. possesses instructions that are very different from those which I have had the honor to receive (which refer altogether to defensive measures) I should not sanction or even permit so decisive a step as he speaks of.

But if any advice or assistance of mine shall be deemed of importance to the Colonel or to any other person to whom may be committed the task of repelling or chastising the aggressions of the Indians, I beg leave to assure you Sir that it shall be afforded with frankness & candour.

I have the honor to be & with great respect

Sir

Yr Humbl. Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble.

Willm. Eustis, Esq.

Sec. of War.

William Henry Harrison to William Eustis, Esq.

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 3rd. June 1812

Sir,

I have no information of any recent depredations committed by the Indians and you will have been informed by the agent at Fort Wayne that the council at Mississiniway resulted in a determination by a large majority to remain at peace—indeed that all professed that intention. There is however nothing but these professions to evince the existence of any such disposition upon the part of the heretofore hostile bands—the only proof of their sincerity which they could give or we could accept after being so repeatedly deceived—Viz., the going on, of the Chief to the seat of Government on the delivery of the murderers have been entirely evaded, altho the former constituted the basis of the agreement made with me on the first of March last—the information received within a few days from Gov. Edwards (and he has better means of acquiring it than I have from the intercourse that is kept up between the Tippecanoe & the Illinois River) confirms that which I had previously received from a principal Potawatomie Chief, Viz., that the major part of the Winebago Tribe are at Tippecanoe with the Prophet & Tecumseh & that they have also been joined by many small bands from the Illinois River & the East of Lake Michigan—making a force at least equal to that which they commanded last summer and that their intentions were entirely hostile.

The Gov. also says that there are at this time nearly eight hundred Warriors embodied at Peoria—that the British agents were endeavouring to effect a peace between the Sioux & Chipewas for the purpose of uniting both those Tribes in a War against us and that they were making large deposits of Indian goods at their establishments on Lake Michigan & on the Communication between that latter & Lake Superior.

Major Floyd has returned from the Delaware Towns. He was detained by the Chief until they should learn the result of the Council at Mississiniway.

This Tribe is entirely to be depended on. they have determined to follow the wishes & directions of the President implicitly.

Upon the whole Sir there is nothing in the suspension of Indian aggression for the last three weeks to induce the belief that the present is any other than one of those deceitful calms which frequently occurs in Indian warfare & which are always succeeded by increased activity in their depredations.

I have heard nothing from Colo. Russell but on Friday last a Company of mounted Volunteers arrived here from Frankfort Kentucky. The information of the danger to which we were exposed induced these patriots to come on without the hope of pay & at their own expense. I have however offered them such provisions as the Contractors Stores would supply. Two other companies have organised themselves & have tendered their services to come on at any time that I should send for them. But as the object of all of them is to be actively employed I shall not send for either of the others & shall dismiss the one that is now here. Unless the face of affairs shall change in a few days or I should receive some orders from you to justify their detention.

With great Respect I have the Honor to be Sir

your Humbl. Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble.

William Eustis Esq.

Secy. of War.

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